

Byzantium in the Time of Troubles

The *Continuation* of the *Chronicle*
of John Skylitzes (1057–1079)

Introduction, Translation, & Notes by

Eric McGeer

Prosopographical Index & Glossary of Terms by

John W. Nesbitt



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Byzantium in the Time of Troubles

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Front: The medieval Armenian city of Ani now in Turkey as viewed from Armenia.

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ani_seen_from_Armenia.jpg (Last accessed: 25 July 2019).

Back: Seal of John nobelissimos, protovestiaros and grand Domestic of the Schools of the East (obverse), showing St Michael and St Demetrios. BZS 1958.106.3248. © Dumbarton Oaks, Byzantine Collection, Washington DC.

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*To the memory of three generous scholars and teachers,
remembered with deep gratitude and affection*

ὕμεις ἐστε τὸ ἄλλας τῆς γῆς

*Mr. John Strathallan Drummond Nation (1900–1975)
Parkdale Collegiate, Toronto*

*Professor Nicolas Oikonomides (1934–2000)
Département d'Histoire, Université de Montréal, 1969–1989*

*Professor Malcolm Barton Wallace (1942–2008)
Department of Classics, University of Toronto, 1969–2007
E.M.*

*To my wife Carla
J.W.N.*

∴

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Acknowledgments

This book grew out of a suggestion from my friend and colleague John Nesbitt that a translation of the *Continuation of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes* would be a worthy addition to the growing number of Byzantine texts available in English or other modern languages. Now that our joint undertaking has come to fruition, we wish to thank the people who helped bring this book to publication.

It is a pleasure to begin by expressing our gratitude to Professor Anthony Kaldellis of The Ohio State University who generously read over the translation and made many helpful comments on the text and the questions arising from the *Continuation*. Dr. Jonathan Shea was also kind enough to read over the introduction and translation and to offer similarly helpful suggestions. We are especially grateful to the two anonymous readers engaged by Brill to evaluate the manuscript; both contributed prompt, perceptive, and constructive observations on the translation and commentary. We hope that the finished product represents a fair acquittal of the debt we owe to these scholars for the improvements they helped us to make. Any remaining errors or shortcomings must be inscribed on our charge sheet.

We reserve a special thanks for Professor Ian Mladjov of Bowling Green State University who prepared a set of detailed maps which readers will find most useful as they follow the historical narrative. With the courteous assistance of Mrs Joni Joseph, Museum Collections Manager and Registrar at the Dumbarton Oaks Research Center in Washington, DC, we have been able to reproduce photographs of lead seals relevant to the text from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Our thanks to the museum staff, notably Mr Joe Mills for his outstanding photography, are very much in order.

The inclusion of the Greek text of the *Continuation* has made this book a more useful tool for those who might wish to consult the original as they read the translation. For her collegiality in helping to secure permission to reproduce Eudoxos Th. Tsolakes' 1968 edition of the *Continuation*, we express our deep gratitude to Professor Alexandra Wassiliou-Seibt of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki; for granting permission to reproduce the text, we owe a particular thanks to Professor Paroula Naskou-Perraki of the Institute of Balkan Studies ("Ιδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου), and to the Board of the Institute.

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Finally, a word of thanks to our families—John Nesbitt to his wife Carla, Eric McGeer to his wife Sylvia and his children Sarah and Colin—for their much appreciated support and patience as we carried on to the finish line.

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Abbreviations

AS	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BSI	<i>Byzantinoslavica</i>
Byz.	<i>Byzantion</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EEBS	<i>Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
GOTR	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
IJCT	<i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
REA	<i>Revue des études arméniennes</i>
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
SBS	<i>Studies in Byzantine Sigillography</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i>
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta</i>

Introduction

The text offered here in translation, known as the *Continuation of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes*, or more simply as *Skylitzes continuatus*, deals with a fateful score of years in the history of the Byzantine Empire. It begins in 1057 with the accession of a usurper and ends in 1079 with a murder in the wake of yet another usurpation. Within its compass the *Continuation* tells the story of five emperors and one female regent coping none too easily with the tasks of maintaining their hold on power, managing domestic affairs, and confronting new, aggressive, and opportunistic enemies who between them very nearly extinguished an empire that only a few years before had stood supreme from southern Italy to Syria. Comparison of a map of the empire in 1040 with another from 1081 reveals at a glance the rapidity and extent of the Byzantine collapse during the third quarter of the eleventh century, which left the Greek Orthodox polity shrunken and weakened, caught in a vise between the militant Christianity of the Latin West and the resurgent Islam of the Seljuk Turks. Hence the interest and importance of this text to students and scholars of the Byzantine Empire, mediaeval Europe, and the Middle East. The *Continuation of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes* provides a contemporary account of a momentous shift in the fortunes of eleventh-century Byzantium, the causes and consequences of which have long inspired debate,¹ and in a wider perspective contributes to our understanding of the eastern Mediterranean world on the eve of the First Crusade.²

This translation is itself a continuation, supplementing as it does the French and English versions of the *Synopsis historiôn* (“Synopsis of histories”) of John Skylitzes.³ This chronicle, a compendium of earlier histories synthesized into a

1 See now the revisitation of Paul Lemerle's influential studies in *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin et des Cinq Etudes sur le XI^e siècle: Quarante ans après Paul Lemerle* = *TM* 21/2 (2017); the essays in *Byzantium in the Eleventh Century. Being in Between. Papers from the 45th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, Oxford, 24–6 March 2012*. Ed. Marc D. Lauxtermann and Mark Whittow. London-New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017; and the long needed reassessment of the traditional interpretations of the period by Anthony Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold, Rivers of Blood. The Rise and Fall of Byzantium, 955 A.D. to the First Crusade*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

2 Paul Magdalino, *The Byzantine Background to the First Crusade*. Toronto: The Canadian Institute of Balkan Studies, 1996; Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012; Alexander Daniel Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040–1130*. Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies. London-New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2017.

3 English translation by John Wortley: *John Skylitzes. A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057*.

single narrative covering the reigns of twenty-three Byzantine emperors from 811 to 1057, has come down in two recensions. The one regarded as the original work concludes with the abdication of Michael VI Stratiotikos on August 31, 1057, and the coronation of Isaac I Komnenos the following day, and is most likely to have been composed during the last two decades of the eleventh century. This constitutes the Greek text which served as the basis for the translations mentioned above.⁴ The second recension, however, brings the narrative down to the reign of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081). Appended to the main chronicle around the year 1100, this coda, entitled *The Continuation of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes* by its editor,⁵ was published separately from the *Synopsis* and has until now been accessible only to a specialised readership. With the appearance of this annotated translation, the full text of a major historical source has become available for use by students and non-specialists interested in the history and historiography of the middle Byzantine period.⁶

This English version of the *Continuation* takes its place alongside the translations and studies of contemporary sources published over the last few years. First among these is *The History of Michael Attaleiates*,⁷ covering the years between 1034 and 1079 and the source on which Skylitzes relied most closely for his account of events, particularly the ill-starred reign of Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–1071) and the battle of Mantzikert. He followed Attaleiates' lead in challenging the version of events crafted by the best known figure of his time, the courtier and polymath Michael Psellos, whose *Chronographia* he knew and quoted,⁸ and whose other works, notably his epitaphs of the Patriarchs and his

Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010; the French translation, prepared by Bernard Flusin and annotated by Jean-Claude Cheynet, appeared as *Jean Skylitzès. Empereurs de Constantinople*. Paris: Editions P. Lethielleux, 2003.

4 *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, editio princeps, edited by Hans Thurn, CFB 5. Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 1973.

5 *Ἡ Συνέχεια τῆς Χρονογραφίας τοῦ Ἰωάννου Σκυλίτση*. Edited by Eudoxos Th. Tsolakes. Thessalonike: Ἐταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν. "Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου, 1968.

6 A comprehensive and very useful survey of the historical sources is given by Warren Treadgold, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Well worth reading is Anthony Kaldellis, "The corpus of Byzantine historiography: an interpretive essay," in: *The Byzantine World*. Ed. Paul Stephenson. Oxford and New York: Routledge, 2010, 211–222.

7 *The History. Michael Attaleiates*. Translated by Anthony Kaldellis and Dimitris Krallis. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012. See also the study by Dimitris Krallis, *Michael Attaleiates and the Politics of Imperial Decline in Eleventh-century Byzantium*. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012.

8 *Michaelis Pselli Chronographia*. Edited by Dieter Reinsch. Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter

letters,⁹ shed light on many of the events and people recorded in the *Continuation*. The *Continuation* must also be studied with reference to the histories written a generation or two afterwards, the *Material for History* of Nikephoros Bryennios,¹⁰ with its focus on the rebellions and pretenders of the 1070s; the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene,¹¹ with its account of her father's rise to power; and the world chronicle assembled by John Zonaras, who used and carried on from the *Continuation* in the final sections of his *Epitome of Histories* describing the time of troubles that culminated with the usurpation and reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).¹² Together with these and other sources, the *Continuation* takes the reader through the no man's land separating two famous dynasties, when the empire afflicted by serious external threats was riven by the rival factions at play in the power vacuum between the extinction of the Macedonian line in 1056 and the establishment of a new régime under the Komnenoi twenty-five years later.¹³

GmbH, 2014. This supplants the older edition, with facing French translation, by Emile Renaud, *Chronographie, ou Histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*, Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles lettres," 1926–1928, which served as the basis for the English translation by E.R.A. Sewter: *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1966.

- 9 *Psellos and the Patriarchs: Letters and Funeral Orations for Keroullarios, Leichoudes, and Xiphilinos*. Translated by Anthony Kaldellis and Ioannis Polemis. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2015; *The Letters of Psellos: Cultural Networks and Historical Realities*. Edited by Michael Jeffreys and Marc D. Lauxtermann. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- 10 Edited and translated by Paul Gautier: *Nicephori Bryennii historiarum libri quattuor*, CFHB 9 = *Histoire. Nicéphore Bryennios*. Brussels: Byzantion, 1975; see also Leonora Neville, *Heroes and Romans in Twelfth-Century Byzantium: The Material for History of Nikephoros Bryennios*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- 11 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*. Edited by Diether R. Reinsch et Athanasios Kambylis. CFHB 40. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001. The text was first edited and translated by Bernard Leib: *Alexiade, règne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnène, 1081–1118*. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," (three volumes) 1937–1945. The standard English translation has now been updated: E.R.A. Sewter: *The Alexiad*. Revised with introduction and notes by Peter Frankopan. London-New York: Penguin, 2009. The latest study is by Leonora Neville, *Anna Komnene: the Life and Work of a Medieval Historian*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- 12 *Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum, libri XIII–XVIII*, edited by Theodore Büttner-Wobst. Bonn, 1897. The section paralleling the *Continuation* is Book XVIII.4–19. A complete English translation of Zonaras' chronicle remains a desideratum. There is a Spanish translation of books XV–XVIII by Francisco Martín García: *Libro de los emperadores: versión aragonesa del Compendio de historia universal patrocinada por Juan Fernández de Heredia*. Zaragoza, España: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico; Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses; Zaragoza, España: Depto. de Educación, Cultura y Deporte del Gobierno de Aragón, 2006.
- 13 J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*. Byzantina Sorbonensia 9.

In assembling his *Synopsis of Histories*, Skylitzes was fulfilling the task of Byzantine chroniclers to “provide a systematic account of what has befallen humanity” from the Creation to their own day.¹⁴ The task was unending. Just as he took up where his predecessors had left off, others would in turn take up from him. The *Synopsis* and the *Continuation* are part of this historiographical process. As we are inclined, for reasons to be reviewed below, to accept attribution of the latter to Skylitzes, the principles of composition and the aims set forth in the prologue to the *Synopsis* apply to the *Continuation* and lay out an approach to the text.¹⁵ Skylitzes makes no pretence of the originality of his compendium—quite the opposite, in fact, for he asserts that its value lies in his critical reading of earlier chronicles and histories, his selection and abridgment of their contents, and the distillation of his sources into essentials, “a history pure and simple” purged of the glorification, censure, or credulity that in his view distorted so many of the works he consulted.¹⁶ Unlike his contemporaries Attaleiates and Psellos, or later historians like Anna Komnene and George Akropolites, he did not write from a firsthand perspective of events in which he had played a role, nor did he insert himself into the narrative. Intended for lovers of history (τοῖς φιλιστοροῦσιν), the *Synopsis* served a twofold readership, those seeking a primer to the weightier histories, and those already schooled in these works who would find in the *Synopsis* a convenient *aide-mémoire*.¹⁷ Working in the same spirit, to the same purpose, the author of the *Continuation* likewise filtered his sources into an unembellished *histoire événementielle* recording what he deemed worthy of recall by his own generation

Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990, 337–357; “Intrigues à la cour de Constantinople: le délitement d’une faction (1057–1081),” in: *Le saint, le moine, et le paysan. Mélanges d’histoire byzantine offerts à Michel Kaplan*. Ed. Olivier Delouis, Sophie Métivier, and Paul Pagès. Byzantina Sorbonensia 29. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2016, 71–84.

14 *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern history, AD 284–813*. Translated with an introduction and commentary by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott, with the assistance of Geoffrey Greatrex. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, lii. See the remarks on the “living” transmission” of Byzantine chronicles by Kenneth Snipes, “The *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos and the textual transmission of the Byzantine historians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,” *ZRVI* 27/28 (1989), 43–62; on the distinctions between Byzantine historical genres, see James Howard-Johnston, “The chronicle and other forms of historical writing in Byzantium,” *The Medieval Chronicle* 10 (2015), 1–22.

15 *Synopsis*, 3.6–4.55 (Wortley, 1–3).

16 As his contemporary George Kedrenos put it (γυμνήν τὴν ἱστορίαν παραδέδωκεν) in the preface to his own *Compendium historiarum* (ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1838, vol. 1, 5.9–10).

17 See Flusin’s introduction to the French translation, *Jean Scylitzès*, vii–xxiv (Wortley, xii–xxxii).

and those to come. Nearly a thousand years later, translated into the descendant of a language that Skylitzes may well have heard the foreigners called *Inglinoi* speaking in the streets of Constantinople, the *Continuation* offers to modern readers what the Greek original offered to contemporaries, a historical text accessible to readers new to the subject, and a reference for scholars grappling with the weightier tomes of the primary and secondary literature.

1 John Skylitzes, *alias* “the Thrakesian,” and the Authorship of the *Continuation*

It is the rule rather than the exception for Byzantine historical texts to have come down in more than one version as a result of interpolations, revisions, or extensions added by the author or by later hands. Both the *History* of Michael Attaleiates and the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos, to cite two examples from Skylitzes’ time, represent revised and expanded editions of the original texts prepared by their authors. Since five of the nine earliest manuscripts preserving the *Synopsis of Histories* include the *Continuation*, the assumption of a first version followed by a second supplemented by the same author would seem straightforward enough.¹⁸ Yet it is not unanimously agreed that Skylitzes wrote the *Continuation*, even though the scales tilt heavily in his favour and most scholars now tend to regard him as the author.¹⁹ Left unasked in the discussions about the attribution of the *Continuation* is the question why it matters, if at all, whether Skylitzes was behind the text or not. The *Continuation*,

18 These manuscripts also contain passages inserted into the text of the *Synopsis*; note that this interpolated and extended version of Skylitzes’ work was entitled the *Epitome of Histories* in the manuscripts. See Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, 252–253, 338–339, with further references.

19 The main arguments, relying on internal evidence, are laid out by the editor of the *Continuation*, Eudoxos Tsolakes, “Συνέχειας Συνέχεια,” *Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα* 25 (2015), 115–142, who asserts the authorship of Skylitzes over the doubts raised by Eirene-Sophia Kiapidou, “Η πατρότητα τῆς Συνέχειας τοῦ Σκυλίτζη καὶ τὰ προβλήματα τῆς. Συγκρίσεις καὶ ἀποκλίσεις ἀπὸ τῆς Σύνοψης ἱστοριῶν,” *ΕΕΒΣ* 52 (2004–2006), 329–362. The most recent, and most sensible, discussion of the date of the *Synopsis* is by Jonathan Shepard, “Memoirs as manifesto: the rhetoric of Katakalon Kekaumenos” in: *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and Beyond*. Ed. Teresa Shawcross and Ida Toth. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 185–214, esp. 187–189. He assigns both the *Synopsis* and the *Continuation* to the first half of the reign of Alexios I Komnenos, rightly countering the arguments advanced by Kiapidou for the composition of the *Synopsis* sometime in the 1060s; see *Ἡ σύνοψη τῶν ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἰωάννη Σκυλίτζη καὶ οἱ πηγές τῆς*. Athens: Kollakis, 2010, 125–136.

like the *Synopsis*, is the stuff of other men's words, and it stands to reason that another compiler familiar with the chronicle could have fashioned excerpts from other sources into a narrative carrying on from the place where the original ended. But if upon review of the evidence we accept the attribution, then we may regard the *Continuation* as an integral part of a second edition of the *Synopsis* and bring it into line with recent scholarship on Skylitzes' career and work.²⁰

For a chronicler whose work is so fundamental to our knowledge of the middle Byzantine period, we know little about John Skylitzes himself. He was active during the second half of the eleventh century, and will have lived sometime between 1040 and 1110. He may have differed from his contemporaries Michael Attaleiates and Michael Psellos in his approach to the writing of history, but like them he was a self-made man of undistinguished background whose career shows how far ability and education could take one in eleventh-century Byzantium.²¹ In a time famous for jurisprudence and the reorganisation of the judicial system, Skylitzes rose through the judiciary to high rank in the civil administration and at court. The not entirely approving remarks in the *Continuation* on Constantine X's participation in legal cases and the severity this emperor showed towards the high and mighty may represent a rare personal observation drawn from his experience as a young judicial official in the 1060s.²² Although the details gleaned from the manuscript headings to the *Synopsis*, or the passing mentions in other sources, add up to little more than a point form outline of his career, they make for an impressive résumé nevertheless. The two offices that he is known to have held, *grand droungarios* of the *Vigla* and Eparch of the City, mark him as one of the figures through whom Alexios I Komnenos will have governed during the 1080s and early 1090s. These were uneasy years for the new dynasty when the emperor, often away on military campaigns, had entrusted the management of the government to his mother, Anna Dalassene; she in turn will have had need of a trustworthy chief magistrate presiding over the main judicial tribunal in Constantinople and a reliable civic official second only to the emperor in the capital. The honorific titles granted to Skylitzes (*protoproedros*, *kouropalates*), together with his exercise of the office of *pro-*

20 Primarily Catherine Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, 66–119 (building on earlier work by Jonathan Shepard); Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, 329–342.

21 Something of Skylitzes' circumstances and rise in the world may be inferred from what we know of the lives and education of Attaleiates and Psellos; see Krallis, *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 4–16, 71–78.

22 Below, section II.2.

tovestiarios, indicate that he continued to enjoy the sovereign's confidence and came to occupy as prominent a place in the imperial hierarchy as a man could without being related to the ruling family.

Law and history were not unrelated pursuits in Skylitzes' time, and the influence of his legal background on the composition of his chronicle should also be taken into account. He was one of several men "learned in the law" who turned his hand to writing history during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and whose interest in the past was part and parcel of the Byzantine jurist's necessary familiarity with custom, precedent, and a legislative tradition stretching back to ancient Rome.²³ His training in the judiciary would have immersed him in the corpus of law codes that were periodically purged, updated, or condensed into handbooks and reference works for easier instruction or consultation, not unlike the task he undertook in pruning earlier chronicles into a digest of histories. His insistence on the dispassionate use of his sources, his concern with the legitimacy and policies of each emperor, his attention to plots and military rebellions, his views on the legality and propriety of imperial marriages,²⁴ his inclusion of opposing interpretations of events,²⁵ and his awareness of the motives and the realities behind appearances²⁶ reveal habits of mind formed by a close reading of the law and the weighing of evidence. Two broken oaths are hinge points in the *Continuation*;²⁷ and a lawyer's eye for precedent may also

23 The diffusion of legal education in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and its influence on historians is discussed by Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 356–360, 392–395. He notes that Skylitzes, Michael Attaleiates, John Zonaras, and Niketas Choniates had been civil judges; Michael Psellos dealt with many legal matters in his correspondence and wrote a treatise on the law for Michael VII. See also Angeliki Laiou, "Law, justice and the Byzantine historians: ninth to twelfth centuries," in: *Law and Society in Byzantium: Ninth to Twelfth Centuries*. Ed. D. Simon. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Center, 1994, 151–185.

24 Angeliki Laiou, "Imperial marriages and their critics in the eleventh century: The case of Skylitzes," *DOP* 46 (1992), 165–176.

25 As for instance the conflicting views of Isaac Komnenos' policy towards the monasteries (section I.2) or the different interpretations of the moisture observed on his tomb (section I.8) which he drew from another lawyer turned historian, Michael Attaleiates. It is not unlikely that Skylitzes was aware of Attaleiates' legal synopsis (the *Ponema nomikon*, much used as a textbook) and came to his *History* because of it.

26 As in Romanos IV Diogenes' feigning pleasure at Manuel Komnenos' military successes while undermining him out of jealousy (section IV.25). A good example from the *Synopsis* is in the passage where Constantine VII crowns Christopher Lekapenos as co-emperor, a public show of assent, but privately a matter of constraint and sorrow (*Synopsis*, 213.44–50, Wortley, 206).

27 The story of the empress Eudokia extricating herself from her oath to her late husband Constantine X (given much greater scope than in Attaleiates) ushers in the reign of

have alerted him to the utility of historical parallels in telling one story through another. The alternative explanation that he gives of the Byzantine defeat at Acheloos in 917, for instance, according to which Romanos Lekapenos turned a potential victory into a catastrophe by abandoning the army and sacrificing his rival Leo Phokas to his own imperial ambitions, could not but evoke comparison with Andronikos Doukas' betrayal of Romanos IV Diogenes at Mantzikert.²⁸

Can we be certain that Skylitzes wrote the *Continuation*? Testimony from external sources points to an answer in the affirmative. The man we know as John Skylitzes was known to the Byzantine chroniclers who used his work as John the Thrakesian, apparently in reference to his or his family's origins in the Thrakesion theme. Around the year 1100, George Kedrenos, who incorporated the first version of the *Synopsis* word for word into his own world chronicle, listed "the *protovestiarios* John, the Thrakesian by surname" among his sources, and went on to describe the methods and purpose of "the Thrakesian's" history in very much the same terms that Skylitzes set forth in his prologue.²⁹ Half a century later, a passage from the chronicler John Zonaras indicates that the version of the *Synopsis* including the *Continuation* was taken to be the work of "the Thrakesian." In his account of the circumstances leading to the abdication of Isaac I Komnenos, Zonaras juxtaposes the explanation given by Michael Psellos with "the story that the Thrakesian related," which closely follows the version of events found in the *Continuation*.³⁰ Now that the identification of John the Thrakesian with John Skylitzes has been confirmed beyond all doubt,³¹ these

Romanos Diogenes. The violation of the agreement between the Doukas faction and Diogenes after Mantzikert nullifies the treaty which the emperor had made with the Turkish sultan and brings disaster to the east: cf. sections 11.12, 111.7; V.21, VI.3.

28 *Synopsis*, 202.71–205.57 (Wortley, 197–199), aptly noted by J.-C. Cheynet, "Jean Skylitzès, lecteur des chroniqueurs du xe siècle," in: *Remanier, métaphraser: fonctions et techniques de la réécriture dans le monde byzantin*. Ed. Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić and Bernard Flusin. Belgrade: University of Belgrade, 2011, 111–129, esp. 117–118.

29 ὁ δὲ πρωτοβεστιάριος Ἰωάννης ὁ Θρακῆσιος τὸ ἐπώνυμον. Cf. the Bonn edition, vol. 1, 5.4–10: "The *protovestiarios* John, the Thrakesian by surname, undertook to provide a more concise account of the events that had taken place at various times since the death of the emperor and former *logothetes* of the *genikon* Nikephoros. After reading through the histories of the chroniclers noted above and preparing his text with care, he dispensed with the writings that showed partiality or a tendency to favour and passed on a history pure and simple." See Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, 339–342, and Iordanis Grigoriadis, "A study of the *prooimion* of Zonaras' *Chronicle* in relation to other 12th-century historical *prooimia*," *BZ* 91/2 (1998), 327–344.

30 ὁ δὲ γὰρ Θρακῆσιος ... ἱστορήσῃ: cf. Zonaras, XVIII.7.2–7, based on section 1.6 of the *Continuation* below.

31 Thanks to a passage in a commentary on the twelfth-century canonist Theodore Balsamon

references in the chronicles of Kedrenos and Zonaras suffice in themselves to demonstrate that the *Synopsis* and the *Continuation* should be taken as the product of one and the same man.

Single authorship would in turn explain the recurrence of certain stock phrases, quotations, maxims, and internal references in the two texts. To support their view that Skylitzes wrote both, the editors of the *Synopsis* and the *Continuation* listed examples that appear to be more than coincidental.³² These and others are noted in the translation below, of which the following stand out as indications of an author attentive to the consistence and unity of his chronicle. Towards the end of his account of the reign of Isaac Komnenos, Skylitzes informs us that the emperor and his wife had beautified the Church of the Prodromos, but he chooses to leave it at that since it would be a “Herculean task” (ἄθλος Ἡράκλειος) to go through the whole story in detail. This or a similar phrase occurs six times in the *Synopsis* where, as in the *Continuation*, it serves the chronicler’s purpose to eliminate extraneous material, avoid digressions, and keep to the middle path between encomium and censure. The first section on the reign of Isaac Komnenos includes a detail meaningful only in connection with another in the *Synopsis*,³³ and where the *Continuation* turns to the unrest in the Balkans during the 1070s, the narrative begins with reference to the account “given above” in the *Synopsis*.³⁴ In like fashion, the presentation of two other sets of events prominent in the *Continuation*, the incursions of the Turks into Anatolia and the eradication of Byzantine authority in southern Italy at the hands of the Normans,³⁵ resumes narratives begun in the latter part of the *Synopsis* where the chronicler lifts his gaze to the frontiers of the Byzantine realm. The *Continuation* brings the story, complete with the consequences, into line with the state of affairs which Skylitzes and his contemporaries knew all too well. The encroachment of the Normans, the volatile situation in the

which refers to the “lord John Skylitzes, also known as Thrakesios (τοῦ ... κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Σκυλίτζη τοῦ καὶ Θρακησίου), who was at that time *kouropalates* and *grand droungarios* of the *Vigla* ...”; see V. Tiftixoglu, “Zur Genese der Kommentare des Balsamon,” in *Byzantium in the Twelfth Century: Canon Law, State and Society*, ed. N. Oikonomides, (Diptycha-Paraphyllida 3): Athens, 1991, 483–532, esp. 528–529. The identification of John Thrakesios with John Skylitzes was first proposed by Werner Seibt, “Ioannes Skylitzes: Zur Person des Chronisten,” *JÖB* 25 (1976), 81–86, an argument further developed by Jonathan Shepard, “A suspected source of Scylitzes’ *Synopsis historiarum*: The great Catacalon Cecaumenos,” *BMGS* 16 (1992), 171–181.

32 Tsolakes, *Συνέχεια*, 87–95; Thurn, *Synopsis historiarum*, ix–x.

33 Section I.1.

34 Section VI.13.

35 Section II.3–4; section VI.21. See also Tsolakes, *Συνέχεια*, 76–99.

Balkans complicated by the threat from the Patzinaks, and the repercussions of Mantzikert were the pressing realities of the late eleventh century, when Skylitzes will have compiled and extended his history; and we should recognise that the references between the two texts not only attach the *Continuation* to the *Synopsis* but in a larger sense root the events it relates in the 1040s and 1050s—namely, in the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055), the years from which Skylitzes, as have historians ever since, traced the sudden and shocking decline of Byzantine power.³⁶

Scholars who have analysed the *Synopsis* have remarked on the connecting threads that hold this rather disparate “history of reigns” together.³⁷ The narrative revolves around the emperor, beginning with his accession, recording his dispensation of rewards and titles, his initial measures and policies, any plots or attempts against his life, his exercise of power in foreign and domestic matters, the noteworthy events of his reign, his ecclesiastical appointments, and ending with his death (or deposition) and his place of burial. His age at death, the length of his reign, and his heirs or surviving issue are standard details in a conclusion summarising his character, as revealed in his words and comportment, and presenting examples of his benevolence, justice, generosity, piety, courage, or other qualities which an emperor was expected to demonstrate.³⁸ This basic framework structures the *Continuation*, particularly in the accounts of the reigns of Isaac I Komnenos and Constantine X Doukas, but it is as flexible as needs be. Certain emperors, such as Michael VI Stratiotikos in the *Synopsis* and Michael VII Doukas in the *Continuation*, are little more than spectators in their own fates, mere placeholders whose reigns consist of the revolts and civil wars that brought them down. Not every reign is dealt with in the same length and detail, or with equal attention to events, or even with equal impartiality, owing to the nature and content of the source material from which Skylitzes was working. Well over half the *Continuation* is given to the three and a half year reign of Romanos IV Diogenes, in which Skylitzes concentrates primarily on the emperor’s military campaigns, following the lead of his principal source Attaleiates, much as the war against the Rus’ that dominates the sec-

36 But note now the important correctives to the received views on Monomachos’ reign and the decline of Byzantine power during the second half of the eleventh century presented by Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold*, 219–301. One wonders if Monomachos made a convenient scapegoat for historians writing towards the end of the eleventh century. He was by then long out of the picture and he left no descendants or partisans to complicate political or historical matters.

37 See Flusin’s discussion in the preface to Wortley’s translation, xxiii–xxix; Holmes, *Basil II*, 91–119.

38 Paul Magdalino, “Aspects of twelfth-century *Kaiserkritik*,” *Speculum* 58 (1983), 326–346.

tion on John I Tzimiskes (969–976) in the *Synopsis* must have been the most thoroughly documented event of that emperor's reign. There is a certain parallelism evident in the portrayal of Michael IV (1034–1041) in the *Synopsis* and Michael VII Doukas in the *Continuation*, both depicted as weak, ineffectual rulers, the former the puppet of his uncle John the Orphanotrophos, the latter of the hated eunuch Nikephoritzes. The pejorative view of his sources towards these sovereigns and the powers behind their thrones seeps into Skylitzes' narrative in the form of the calamities and strange portents manifesting divine disapprobation of their policies.

At a level below the emperor, Skylitzes took pains to people the *Synopsis*, especially its section on the heroic age of Basil II (976–1025), with the figures whose descendants belonged to the aristocratic families prominent in the late eleventh century and were likely to represent much of his readership.³⁹ He appears to have been working in reverse when composing the *Continuation*, since he kept an eye out for the notables whose ancestors had come in for mention in the *Synopsis*. One such is the *proedros* Theodore Alyates, “a valiant and distinguished man most remarkable for his size and appearance,” who was descended from Anthes Alyates, a seemingly minor character whose adventures during the rebellion of Bardas Skleros are nevertheless rendered in brief but dramatic detail, perhaps in light of the family's subsequent service under Alexios Komnenos.⁴⁰ Another striking example, this time of the “*bon sang ne peut mentir*” variety, is the *proedros* Constantine Theodorokanos, “a distinguished man renowned for the nobility of his lineage and the brilliance of his career,” whose ancestor (possibly his grandfather) had been one of Basil II's trusted subordinates during his wars in Bulgaria and whose relatives had held prominent military posts during the first half of the eleventh century.⁴¹ It seems too that Skylitzes had seen the influential families that had thrown their lot in with Nikephoros Botaneiates regain a place in the new élite created under

39 Holmes, *Basil II*, 187–216.

40 Section v.19 (combed from Attaleiates, *History*, 21.5). Cf. *Synopsis*, 315.1–316.7, 318.62–71 (Wortley, 300, 302); noted and discussed by Holmes, *Basil II*, 204–206; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 372, noting the family's place during the reign of Alexios and beyond.

41 Section vi.30 (also from the *History*, 31.6). Cf. *Synopsis*, 344.88, 345.38–40 (Wortley, 326, 327). The Christian name of this ancestor is not given; he was of Armenian or Georgian descent. Skylitzes also mentions a George Theodorokanos, *patrikos* and *strategos* of Samos, and a *magistros* Basil Theodorokanos (possibly the father of the Constantine in the *Continuation*) who who helped repel the Rus' attack of 1043: *Synopsis*, 373.12–14 (Wortley, 352); 431.72, 432.91–92 (Wortley, 406); Attaleiates, *History*, 5.5. On this family, see now Werner Seibt, “The Theodorokanoi. Members of the Byzantine military aristocracy with an Armeno-Iberian origin,” *SBS* 13 (2019), 81–91.

Alexios Komnenos. One of the men he lists among Botaneiates' allies, the *proto-proedros* and *megas hetaireiarches* Romanos Straboromanos, played a leading role in the dynastic struggles of 1077–1079. He backed the wrong horse in 1081 and saw his fortunes decline after Botaneiates relinquished the throne; but within a generation the *protonobelissimos* Manuel Straboromanos (likely a son) is attested in the office of *megas hetaireiarches* at the court of Alexios Komnenos, which suggests that Skylitzes saw no need to remove from his narrative an unlucky member of a family since restored to favour.⁴² From these examples it would appear that the *Continuation* perpetuated one of the unspoken purposes of the *Synopsis* in rallying the noble families under Alexios I Komnenos around a common history of their participation in the military and political affairs of the empire.⁴³

Chronology is as much a secondary concern in the *Continuation* as it is in the *Synopsis*. Although the succession of reigns imposes a natural chronological framework, in neither text does Skylitzes lay out his history in a strictly linear sequence, year by year, preferring instead to organise his material by theme or in discrete episodes.⁴⁴ He records a number of dates throughout the *Continuation* (world year, indiction year, or days in the Liturgical calendar), but for the most part these merely pinpoint events of note (imperial acclamations, natural disasters or phenomena) and are incidental to the main narrative.⁴⁵ Nor are all the events of a given reign necessarily located within that time span. Each reign is part of a continuum, in that the cumulative effect of decisions and actions taken, or not taken, by an emperor's predecessors has a great deal to do with the options or policies that he pursued. The story of Michael VII's fruitless attempt to forge a marriage alliance with Robert Guiscard, for example, begins with the emperor's despatch of a Byzantine envoy to Italy; but this detail leads not forward to the course and result of the negotiations but back to the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos to review the events which led

42 See section VI.28, where Skylitzes names Alexander Kabasilas, Straboromanos, the Synadenoi, and Goudelios among the chief supporters of Nikephoros Botaneiates. On the recovery of the Straboromanos family, see Paul Gautier, "Le dossier d'un haut fonctionnaire byzantin d'Alexis Ier Comnène, Manuel Straboromanos," *REB* 23 (1965), 168–204, and Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 220–221.

43 Holmes, *Basil II*, 217.

44 See Catherine Holmes, "The rhetorical structures of John Skylitzes' *Synopsis historion*," in: *Rhetoric in Byzantium: papers from the thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*. Ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys. Aldershot—Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2003, 187–199.

45 As in sections 11.8–10, where the events recorded occurred in 1065, 1063, and 1066 respectively.

Michael to seek such a desperate solution to the crises he faced in east and west.⁴⁶ This arrangement by theme allows Skylitzes greater freedom of movement across time and place as the spotlight shifts from the capital to the eastern frontiers, to the Balkans, to Italy, then back to the capital once more, and as the narrative advances or backtracks from different points in time. It is in the selection and deployment of his source material that we can appreciate Skylitzes as an author-compiler attempting in the *Continuation* to record the interplay of events that had, within his lifetime, brought his world to the brink of collapse.

2 The Sources and Purpose of the *Continuation*

There has been a good deal of scholarly investigation into the sources for Skylitzes' chronicle.⁴⁷ Some of his sources are cited in the preface to the *Synopsis*, some have been identified by comparative reading, and others have been posited in an attempt to reconstruct works known to the compiler but which are no longer extant. Nor were all his sources written documents, for he states that he has included oral testimony gained through consultation with the aged. It has long been known that the *Continuation* is based primarily on the *History* of Michael Attaleiates, seasoned with small doses of the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos and excerpts from other unknown sources.⁴⁸ At a fifth the length of Attaleiates' *History*, the *Continuation* could be read either as a primer to the principal source for the period after 1057 or as an *aide-mémoire*, in keeping with the methods and aims enunciated in the prologue to the *Synopsis*. How he adapted these sources for his own purposes, why he extended the *Synopsis* when a detailed narrative of the period between Komnenian emperors already lay to hand, and what influences guided his presentation of the recent past are the topics to be considered here.

The discussion of the sources in the *Continuation*, as opposed to the *Synopsis*, takes on a different hue when we note that Skylitzes was bringing his chronicle to within a decade and a half of its composition, well within the realm of living memory. This will inevitably have had some bearing on the way he chose and presented his material. His readership consisted of a small élite

46 Section VI.21–25.

47 Holmes, *Basil II*, 91–119; Shepard, "Memoirs as manifesto"; Kiapidou, *Ἡ σύνοψη ἱστοριῶν του Ἰωάννη Σκυλίτζη*.

48 Tsolakes first collated the *Continuation* with the *History* in his 1968 edition of the former, and listed the passages based on the *Chronographia*: *Συνέχεια*, 61–74; see now the updated concordance in his 2011 edition of the *History*, lxxxviii–xci.

of court and government officials, all of them avid producers and consumers of “the chatter, dialogue, and squabble of the Byzantine corridors of power.”⁴⁹ And if, as is generally agreed, he undertook to extend his chronicle in the 1090s, he was working within a different political context and from a more distant vantage point than had his lodestar Attaleiates. He did not have to be as circumspect in his judgment of certain members of the Doukas family, for the *kaisar* John, his son Andronikos, the emperor Michael VII, and their apologist Michael Psellos were dead and gone by the time he embarked upon the *Continuation*. On the other hand, he had to proceed with an eye to the realities, sensitivities, and personages of Alexios Komnenos’ not untroubled regime. Unnamed but undoubtedly a light to steer by when composing a history of recent times was the emperor’s mother, Anna Dalassene, whose career and views would have been well known to the *kouropalates* John Skylitzes. She will have regarded the years between 1059 and 1081 as an interregnum. She hated the Doukas family for elbowing her husband John Komnenos out of the way when the emperor Isaac abdicated; she had lent her family’s support to the beleaguered Romanos Diogenes in a mutually beneficial alliance against the Doukai, only to see her hopes dashed once again when Romanos was deposed and blinded through the machinations of her nemesis, the *kaisar* John Doukas. She had tolerated the marriage of her son Alexios to Eirene Doukaina only because it achieved the *rapprochement* necessary to the restoration of Komnenian rule; she played a leading part in Alexios’ coup in 1081, and she supervised the civil administration of the empire during the first decade and a half of Alexios’ reign.⁵⁰ She also frequented a church which Skylitzes saw fit to mention in his account of her late brother-in-law, Isaac Komnenos. This was the church of the protomartyr Thekla, dedicated to the saint by the emperor in gratitude for his miraculous escape from death on the same day as her feast-day. An item of special interest to a Komnenian readership,⁵¹ inserted into a passage taken from Attaleiates,⁵² this nod in the direction of Anna Dalassene reveals the political considerations

49 Dimitris Krallis, “Attaleiates as a reader of Psellos,” in: *Reading Michael Psellos*. Ed. Charles Barber and David Jenkins. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006, 167–191, 167.

50 Barbara Hill, *Imperial Women in Byzantium, 1025–1204: Power, Patronage, and Ideology*. London-New York: Longman, 1999, 66–71, 161–165; Lynda Garland, *Byzantine Empresses: Women and Power in Byzantium, AD 527–1204*. London-New York: Routledge, 1999, 186–198; J.-C. Cheynet, “Les Dalassénoi,” in: *La société byzantine: l’apport des sceaux*. Two volumes. Paris: Association des amis du Centre d’histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2008, vol. 2, 413–478 (no. 16).

51 See section 1.5, with reference to Anna Komnene’s excursus in the *Alexiad* on the church and the circumstances of its construction.

52 Cf. *History*, 12.14.



FIGURE 1 Seal of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).

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governing the treatment of the major events and people in the *Continuation*. He did not forsake the principles laid out in his preface by indulging in excessive praise or condemnation, but he knew which way the wind was blowing and tacked with it.

The refashioning of Attaleiates' *History* into a historical narrative both acceptable and useful in this milieu began with the rehabilitation of the precursor of the Komnenian dynasty. Isaac Komnenos' reputation was tarnished by the bloody rebellion that brought him to power, his rapacious taxation, the confiscation of monastic and church lands, and the natural disaster (always a sign of divine displeasure) that befell his army on the way back from his Danube campaign. These made for disturbing parallels with his nephew Alexios' own coup, when his troops had ransacked the capital, his seizure of church property and holy objects to pay for his campaigns, and a string of military reversals in the early years of his reign. Skylitzes does not suppress Isaac's flaws nor does he downplay the drastic and unpopular measures that the emperor took, and he states more emphatically than Attaleiates that he deserved punishment for his transgressions. Yet he palliates his criticisms with edifying examples, not given in Attaleiates, that furnish proof of Isaac's sincere repentance after his abdication.⁵³ His voluntary relinquishing of power, his embrace of the monastic life, and his humility while serving as gate-keeper at the Stoudios monastery expi-

53 Sections 1.7, 9–10; no parallels in Attaleiates.



FIGURE 2 Seal of Anna Dalassene, nun and *kouropalatissa* (1067–1081). Anna's seals indicate that she received the titles of *kouropalatissa* and *domestikissa* upon the promotion of her husband John Komnenos in 1057 (see below, 38–39 and Figure 5) and retained the former title after his death in 1067. She is then attested as nun or *prote* (head of a convent), having either entered the monastic life voluntarily as a widow or been compelled to do so by the Doukas family after the downfall of Romanos Diogenes.

BZS 1947.2.1116. © DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION, WASHINGTON DC

ated the severity and pride he displayed as emperor.⁵⁴ Moreover, if he taxed heavily, revoked entitlements, and confiscated church lands, he did not do so to dispense largesse in return for political support but, as a second Nikephoros Phokas or Basil II, to restore the empire's military strength and, for their spiritual benefit, to curtail the excessive and distracting accumulation of wealth among the clergy and monks. In other words, he faced and dealt with painful realities. The same could not be said of either Doukas emperor in the *Continuation*.

The transition from chastisement to repentance in Skylitzes' account of Isaac Komnenos brings to mind the speeches addressed to Alexios Komnenos by the Patriarch of Antioch, John Oxeites, in 1091.⁵⁵ Delivered at a time of crisis

54 It is worth pointing out that Paul Lemerle did not believe a word of this. See his *Cinq Etudes sur le XI^e siècle byzantin*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1977, 293–294.

55 Paul Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis I^{er} Comnène," *REB* 28 (1970), 5–55; for a careful reexamination of these speeches, see Judith Ryder, "The role of the speeches of John the Oxite in Komnenian court politics," in: *Reading in the Byzantine Empire and*



FIGURE 3 Seal of Anna Dalassene (ca. 1095). The inscription attests to her famed ascetic piety and her singular authority in the government of Alexios Komnenos: "Lord, help the nun Anna Dalassene, mother of the emperor."

BZS 1955.1.5084. © DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION, WASHINGTON DC

before the high-ranking officials assembled in the palace—an audience which will surely have included Skylitzes—the Patriarch denounced the injustices of Alexios' actions and policies which in provoking God's anger had brought misfortune upon his subjects, and called for genuine repentance on the emperor's part.⁵⁶ Skylitzes may thus have seen Isaac Komnenos as an example of the contrition that John Oxeites demanded of Alexios and therefore cast Isaac as the prototype for his nephew's sincere and necessary atonement. The suspicion grows that as an official whose fortunes were bound up with the ruling family, he composed his account of Isaac Komnenos as a word to the wise not to leave repentance too late.

The influence of the Patriarch's address on the composition the *Continuation* may be discerned in two other ways. According to Oxeites, in the years before he became emperor, Alexios had enjoyed God's favour and served notice of his ability in his successful campaigns against three rebels, but after seizing power by force and scouring his subjects for any and all revenues he had suffered many reverses and calamities as divinely ordained punishments for his transgressions.⁵⁷ The *Continuation* gives due attention to Alexios' exploits during the 1070s, but it cannot be mere coincidence that the chronicle concludes

Beyond. Ed. Teresa Shawcross, Ida Toth. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 93–115.

56 Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite," 28–34, 36–40.

57 Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite," 22–25.

with the murder of the deposed Michael VII's minister Nikephoritzes, early in the reign of Nikephoros Botaneiates. It is precisely at this point that the chronicle of Zonaras, which largely parallels the *Continuation*, turns to the story of Alexios' rebellion against Botaneiates and other awkward subjects that Skylitzes deemed best left to others, especially while the emperor lived and ruled.⁵⁸ It is noteworthy, too, that in his address John Oxeites goes on to portray the desperate situation Alexios faced in 1091 as a consequence of collective impiety and the failure to propitiate God, for which sins He has punished emperor and people alike by suspending His protection. Collective expiation was therefore necessary. This argument, bolstered by abundant references to Old Testament theodicy, might explain the most striking departure from Attaleiates' text in the *Continuation*. Skylitzes follows this line of argument in a digression derived from the *History* that he both rearranges and relocates. After the Turks captured and desecrated the shrine of the Archangel Michael at Chonai, the inhabitants suffered yet another disaster when the springs running through the caverns where many had taken refuge overflowed and drowned them.⁵⁹ Skylitzes reports that in the wake of this catastrophe contemporaries were at a loss to understand why God permitted the barbarians and the very elements of nature to afflict the Orthodox faithful, when previously such calamities were reserved for the heterodox populations dwelling on the eastern frontiers of the empire—deservedly so, since these heretics had offended God and brought His wrath upon themselves.⁶⁰ Not only does Skylitzes acknowledge the inscrutability of providence in a very different place and context than does Attaleiates,⁶¹ he adds references from Scripture to argue that the lesson here is that both correct belief and righteous conduct are necessary to avert divine chastisement, which would descend upon all who erred in thought and deed. Underlying this was the charge that the real enemies lay within, among the palace factions who

58 Zonaras, XVIII.19.34–20.1–22. It is not irrelevant to recall that he and the other historian of Alexios' reign, Anna Komnene, wrote long after his death, and that neither one in their respective blame or praise strove for the impartiality that Skylitzes claimed for his work. Zonaras' hostility towards Alexios Komnenos extended to his uncle, Isaac I Komnenos, whom he portrays in the worst possible light. The contrast with Skylitzes' more sympathetic account is shown in the notes to the translation.

59 Section IV.26; *History*, 19.3–4.

60 Section IV.27, with further references.

61 *History*, 16.6–8, where the inscrutability of the divine plan is related to Romanos Diogenes' rise to power after the leading candidate, Nikephoros Botaneiates, was sidelined through the envy of unnamed others. It is not out of the question, however, that Attaleiates moved this passage when he revised his original text to portray Nikephoros Botaneiates as the saviour of the empire.

knowingly and brazenly committed injustices and fought each other more ferociously than their external foes.⁶² After comparing the fate of the Orthodox to that of the Amorites, who had been driven from their land once they had reached the full measure of their iniquity (Genesis 15:16), Skylitzes then alludes to the words of Christ in Matthew 5:19 on the necessity of acting and teaching in full accordance with the commandments. While it would be going too far to insist on a direct link between the Patriarch John Oxeites' and Skylitzes' arguments on collective sin and punishment, and the need for repentance and strict obedience to the laws of God, both typify the reasoning framed in explicitly Christian terms to make sense of events and to respond spiritually as well as practically. Neither here nor in another digression condensed from the *History* does Skylitzes venture beyond a conventional Christian rationale to explain the causes of events or their meaning, unlike Attaleiates who in a remarkable passage turned to the ancient, and pagan, Roman past to seek the reasons for failure or success not only in theological terms but in historical or cultural contrasts.⁶³ Under an emperor who portrayed himself as the guardian of Orthodoxy and whose mother was famed for her ascetic piety and association with monks and holy men, we may wonder if another of Skylitzes' unstated purposes was not just to condense but to Christianise Attaleiates' explanation of events.

In deciding to extend his chronicle as far as the reign of Nikephoros III Botaneiates, Skylitzes was also enlisting in a sort of Byzantine *Historikerstreit* in which opposing views of the recent past had taken shape. One was propounded by Michael Psellos in his *Chronographia*, the other by Michael Attaleiates in his *History*. At the heart of the dispute was the figure of Romanos IV Diogenes, either defamed as an interloper, haughty and impetuous, who brought ruin upon his army at Mantzikert and hence an admittedly cruel but not undeserved fate upon himself, or held up as the one ruler conscious of his duty to protect his subjects from the Turks, an emperor who did no harm to his Doukas adversaries, only to be undone by the intrigues of these lesser men whose ruthless pursuit of their ambitions played into the hands of the empire's enemies. Where one stood on the matter of Romanos Diogenes depended very much on one's leanings in the larger rivalry between the Komnenoi and Doukai which played out in the years covered by the *Continuation*.⁶⁴ Psellos, who had thwarted Komnenian ambitions in 1059 when he helped orchestrate the abdication of Isaac Komnenos and the succession of Constantine Doukas,

62 Sections VI.9; 27.

63 *History*, 24.1–5; see Anthony Kaldellis, "A Byzantine argument for the equivalence of all religions: Michael Attaleiates on ancient and modern Romans," *IJCT* 14 (2007), 1–22.

64 Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 293–300; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 339–357.

sought to diminish Diogenes' reputation so as to exculpate both himself and the principal beneficiary of that emperor's removal, his student cum patron Michael VII Doukas, and thus preserve his own position at court. Attaleiates, who devoted a good portion of his *History* to Diogenes' three years in power, while taking care to include the emperor's promotion of the Komnenoi and to portray the emerging Alexios Komnenos in a favourable light, answered Psellos' polemic by contrasting Diogenes' efforts to save the east with the self-interest of the Doukai and their sabotage of his reign. It was in some measure a debate between detailed narrative and court rumours, with Attaleiates setting his eyewitness account of Diogenes' campaigns against Psellos' palace gossip of Diogenes' incompetence and arrogance, displayed in his aimless expeditions and the tales of mutual exploitation and marital discord between him and the empress Eudokia.⁶⁵

Given Skylitzes' standing in the court and government of Alexios Komnenos, it was to be expected that he would rely on Attaleiates' *History* as his source for the reign of Romanos Diogenes. But it was not mere partisanship that dictated his choice, nor did Skylitzes hesitate to rework Attaleiates' text for his own purposes or to leaven his own narrative with contributions from other sources. The unjust and gruesome demise of Romanos Diogenes haunted Byzantine memory long afterwards.⁶⁶ There are signs in the *Continuation* that Skylitzes shared the sympathy felt by many of his contemporaries towards the forsaken emperor, and the outrage towards those who had betrayed him. Even if Skylitzes, in the frank assessment of one historian, reworked his material into prose as flat as a newspaper,⁶⁷ the story of Romanos IV Diogenes' downfall, with its foreshadowing, irony, and vindication, nevertheless achieves a kind of tragic grandeur. Diogenes' rise and fall are framed by two memorable scenes: the first

65 For a perceptive comparison of the competing representations of Romanos Diogenes, see Krallis, "Attaleiates as a reader of Psellos," and his *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 71–100, with useful comments on the factors behind Attaleiates' positive view of Alexios Komnenos, 213–228.

66 The twelfth-century satire *Timarion* portrays Diogenes in the underworld, his eyes mutilated and poison dripping from his lips, groaning in pain and inconsolable in his anguish; see *Timarion*: English translation by Barry Baldwin. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984, 55–57, with commentary on 107–111. Readers of Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnene will notice that both of these historians, in their accounts of the rebellions of Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder and Nikephoros Basilakes (only a few years after Diogenes' death), insist that Alexios Komnenos honoured his promises of clemency to the two rebels upon their defeat and had nothing to do with their subsequent blinding: cf. sections VII.3, VII.6 below.

67 Kaldellis, "The corpus of Byzantine historiography," 221.

introduces him with reference to his handsome eyes and features, and the captivating effect upon the beholder; the second shows him with his eyes gouged out, a living corpse, his life ebbing away in agony from his dreadful injuries.⁶⁸ Even in bare outline it is a troubling and unforgettable story, almost Shakespearean in design and pathos.

To strengthen the brief for Diogenes, Skylitzes makes some small changes to his often verbatim repetition of Attaleiates. Whether these variants consist of his own words or extracts from other sources is immaterial, since in either case they represent his interventions and offer his judgment of events. He inserts the story of Diogenes justifying his promotion to the rank of *vestarches*,⁶⁹ thus heightening the worthiness of this capable outsider for the throne. He goes a step further than Attaleiates in absolving Diogenes of blame for the failure to stop the Turkish raids into Anatolia,⁷⁰ and he bluntly assigns responsibility for the Byzantine collapse in the east to the people whose malfeasance all but ensured disaster from the moment Diogenes took power. Ranking first among the blameworthy were the members of the Doukas family, who resented the emperor as an intruder and “impeded him from beginning to end and mismanaged the affairs of the Romans with the results we can see now.”⁷¹ Their chief accomplice was Michael Psellos whom Skylitzes criticises in harsher terms than does Attaleiates for his scheming against Diogenes and for his baneful influence on the pliable Michael VII Doukas.⁷² Equally culpable in their own way were the calculating, irresolute army commanders who sought maximum rewards in return for minimal risk and results, and who refrained from acting or taking initiative unless the emperor was on hand to supervise them directly.⁷³ If any blame attached to Diogenes for the defeat at Mantzikert, it lay in his misplaced trust in the “men full of deceit and malice” he selected as his commanders on the campaign,⁷⁴ not least the faithless Andronikos Doukas whom—in contrast to Attaleiates—Skylitzes names and implicates directly for his intention to abandon the emperor as soon as the chance arose.⁷⁵ And when “one by one”

68 Sections III.6 and V.21.

69 Section III.6, not recorded in the *History*, 16.8.

70 Section IV.24, noting the dispersion of the Turkish raiding parties, too many and too widespread for the Byzantine forces to block them all. Cf. Attaleiates, *History*, 18.21.

71 Section IV.1; added to the passage drawn from the *History*, 17.1.

72 Section IV.28; V.18; VI.2; VI.27: these remarks have no counterpart in Attaleiates.

73 Section IV.22; expanding on the *History*, 18.17.

74 Section V.3; not in the *History*, 20.6.

75 Section V.14, further identified as son of the *kaisar* (i.e. John Doukas, who was still alive when Attaleiates was writing and hence best left unnamed in the *History*) and nephew of the previous emperor (Constantine X Doukas); cf. *History*, 20.23, where Attaleiates refers

Diogenes' men begin to desert him at the crucial moment during the battle, Skylitzes alters Attaleiates' wording ever so slightly to allude to the betrayal of Christ.⁷⁶

Skylitzes names Psellos among his sources for the *Synopsis* and briefly mentions his role in the rebellion of 1057. Although he dipped into the *Chronographia* for bits of information in the *Continuation*, he used Psellos more as a foil than a source when dealing with the reign of Diogenes and the catastrophic 1070s.⁷⁷ Yet Psellos' influence on the *Continuation* is apparent in other ways. It would seem, for instance, that Skylitzes' somewhat dismissive mention of Psellos in his preface refers not to the *Chronographia* but to his *Historia syntomos*, a pastiche of imperial biographies from the founding of Rome to Basil II.⁷⁸ The character sketches and *bons mots* of Isaac I Komnenos (and his wife Aikaterine) and Constantine X Doukas in the *Continuation* may have been inspired by the example of the *Historia syntomos*, in which nearly every imperial biography records sayings (*apophthegmata*) meant to illustrate the character of the emperor.⁷⁹ And if Psellos' memoirs, dealing with the inhabitants and inner workings of the palace, regaled an audience of court officials keen on gossip and intrigue, Skylitzes showed himself no less susceptible to their allure. He preserves a strange anecdote, found nowhere else, recounting the devious means by which the empress Eudokia achieved her desire to marry Romanos Diogenes. He follows Attaleiates closely but merges history with gos-

to Andronikos Doukas in oblique but still pointed terms as the cousin of the emperor Romanos' stepson Michael (who stood to become Michael VII Doukas if Romanos was deposed).

76 Cf. section V.14, where Skylitzes renders Attaleiates' εἰς καθεύα as εἰς καθεῖς, the words used in Mark 14:19. They occur in the story of the Last Supper when Jesus announces that one of His disciples will betray Him, "And they began to be sorrowful, and to say unto Him *one by one*, Is it I? and another said, Is it I?"

77 Evident in section V.19 where he refers none too approvingly to Psellos' open declaration of his role in deposing Romanos.

78 On the *Historia syntomos* ("Concise history"), reliably attributed to Psellos, see Treadgold, *Middle Byzantine Historians*, 282–289; Raimondo Tocci, "Questions of authorship and genre in chronicles of the middle Byzantine period: The case of Michael Psellos' *Historia Syntomos*," in: *The Author in Middle Byzantine Literature: Modes, Functions, and Identities*. *Byzantinisches Archiv* 28. Ed. A. Pizzone. Berlin-Boston 2014, 61–75.

79 Sections 1.10; 11.12; these have no parallels in the *Synopsis*. The fact that the sayings recorded of Constantine X are taken from the *Chronographia*, while those put in the mouth of Isaac I are of unknown provenance, shows that there is still work to be done in tracing the sources of the *Continuation*. See Theofili Kampianaki, "Sayings attributed to emperors of Old and New Rome in Michael Psellos' *Historia Syntomos*," in: *From Constantinople to the Frontier. The City and the Cities*. Ed. Nicholas S.M. Matheou, Theofili Kampianaki, and Lorenzo M. Bondioli. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2016, 311–325.

sip in the scurrilous tale of the empress tricking the Patriarch John Xiphilinos into releasing her from the oath she had sworn to her late husband, Constantine x Doukas, not to remarry and endanger the succession of their children.⁸⁰ The inclusion of two rather colourful colloquialisms makes it hard to know how seriously to take this story, which must have been a rumour concocted by the Doukai after Mantzikert to undermine Eudokia's position at court, deny the legitimacy of Diogenes, and disparage Xiphilinos for acceding to a union that went against their interests.⁸¹ The story is also a good example of the hybrid image of Diogenes that grew out of the conflicting historiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, one as the betrayed hero, the other as a power-seeking upstart in a marriage where both spouses sought to use the other.⁸²

Working the recent past into a chronicle composed during the 1090s meant walking a fine and sometimes contradictory political line. The positive account of Romanos Diogenes had to be carefully delimited, since in 1094 his son Nikephoros raised a revolt against Alexios which in its wide support among the nobility and army showed the enduring popularity of the Diogenes name.⁸³ This rupture of the alliance between the two families and the betrayal of Alexios' generosity towards Nikephoros Diogenes would explain the pejorative additions slipped into the narrative that, without detracting from Romanos Diogenes himself, in retrospect foreshadow his son's rebellion and his family's fall from favour.⁸⁴ Rebellion ran in the family, implies Skylitzes who, unlike Attaleiates, names Romanos' father Constantine Diogenes (wasn't he the one who committed suicide after his second failed rebellion?); he makes no mention of his sons Nikephoros and Leo born in the purple; and he rephrases Attaleiates to state plainly that Romanos was jealous at the success of Manuel Komnenos (the brother of Alexios).⁸⁵ Selectivity was another tool the chroni-

80 Section II.12, III.7.

81 This was a further strain in the relations between Xiphilinos and the Doukai; see Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 35–38.

82 Evident in the twelfth-century chronicles of Skoutariotes, *Χρονικά* II 331.5–6, and Zonaras, *XVIII*.10.7–8; 10.19–11.15 (these passages are translated in the notes to the *Continuation*); see also Krallis, *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 93–94.

83 Peter Frankopan, "Challenges to imperial authority in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos: the conspiracy of Nikephoros Diogenes," *BSI* 64 (2006), 257–274.

84 See J.-C. Cheynet, "Grandeur et décadence des Diogénai," in: *La société byzantine: l'apport des sceaux*. Two volumes. Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2008, vol. 2, 563–581.

85 Section III.5 (with further references in the notes); cf. section IV.25 and *History*, 19.2, where Attaleiates states that Romanos kept his true feelings about Manuel's success to himself, whatever they may have been.

cler used to eliminate extraneous material or to add corrective tinges. He picked his way through Attaleiates' interminable panegyric to Nikephoros Botaneiates to extract only the information required for a description of the political upheavals during the reign of Michael VII; and he includes unflattering details Attaleiates chose to omit, namely the scandalous marital unions that Botaneiates sought after he became emperor, as well as his reliance on his two henchmen, Borilos and Germanos, who were not remembered fondly by the Komnenoi.⁸⁶

The dealings between Patriarchs and emperors, as described in the *Continuation*, reflect the often contentious relations between church and state in the eleventh century.⁸⁷ After the famous clash between Isaac Komnenos and Michael Keroularios in 1058, a decidedly Pyrrhic victory for Isaac, emperors in times of instability had good reason to be wary of strong Patriarchs and sought ways to control them or limit their influence. Not for nothing does Skylitzes inform us, as Attaleiates does not, that Michael VII chose the pious monk Kosmas as Xiphilinos' successor precisely because of his lack of political connections and formal education.⁸⁸ Although Skylitzes says all the right things about Constantine Leichoudes and John Xiphilinos, neither of the venerable Patriarchs associated with Psellos and the "government of the philosophers" escapes the whiff of scandal in the *Continuation*. Another bit of hearsay unique to Skylitzes is woven into his account of Leichoudes' elevation to the Patriarchate. It relates how Isaac Komnenos made return of a profitable source of revenue a condition of his confirmation, intimating that its cession would put an end to the whispering campaign against him.⁸⁹ Leichoudes took the hint.

86 Sections VII.5; 14.

87 Angold, *Church and Society*, 15–72; see also V. Stanković, "The Alexios Studites patriarchate (1025–1043): a developmental stage in patriarchal power," *ZRVI* 39 (2001–2002), 68–87, and J.-C. Cheynet, "Patriarches et empereurs: de l'opposition à la révolte ouverte," in: *Zwei Sonnen am Goldenen Horn?: kaiserliche und patriarchale Macht im byzantinischen Mittelalter: Akten der internationalen Tagung vom 3. bis 5. November 2010*. Ed. Michael Grünbart, Lutz Rickelt, Martin Marko Vučetić. Berlin: Lit Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2013, 1–18.

88 Section VI.34. Kosmas ran afoul of Anna Dalassene for his support of the Doukai in the succession struggle in 1081 and was to all intents and purposes forced from office; it is worth noting that his replacement, the unlettered eunuch and monk, Eustratios Garidas, is described as lazy and inexperienced, suitable only for his willingness to do Alexios' bidding; Zonaras, XVIII.21.22–24.

89 Section I.4; an anecdote not in the *History*, 12.12. Like all gossip, these stories could be shaped to the teller's purposes; note that Zonaras, hostile to Alexios Komnenos and hence to his uncle, gives the story a different twist to besmirch Isaac's reputation (the passage is translated in the notes to the *Continuation*). Leichoudes and Xiphilinos had both held high political office before falling prey to intrigues and rivals and retiring into monastic life; see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 202–212.

Whatever the veracity of this story, the point was that this time the emperor gained the upper hand, showing his determination to reclaim imperial rights in the wake of his deference to the domineering Keroularios. A comparative reading of Attaleiates' account of Keroularios' deposition with the much reduced version in the *Continuation* shows that a generation or so after the event, Skylitzes had no wish to revive the reputation of a Patriarch who in life and in death had fatally undermined the first Komnenos to reach the throne, much less at a time when the second was involved in similar disputes over the extent of imperial versus ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁹⁰ Skylitzes excises Attaleiates' praise for Keroularios' fortitude in his arrest and exile, and he diverges from his principal source (and Psellos) in not assigning equal responsibility to both parties for the rupture.⁹¹ His partiality for Isaac is slight yet discernible. He contrasts Isaac's high filial respect for the Patriarch, his beneficence to him and his nephews, and his forbearance towards the Patriarch's arrogance and presumption. By quoting the Patriarch's contemptuous words to the emperor, he captures his character in an utterance that shows that his notion of *parrhesia* would have been *lèse-majesté* coming out of anyone else's mouth. The *Continuation* is the only source to record the Patriarch's appropriation of the imperial symbols of power and his claims to higher status, details that underline Keroularios' notorious political ambitions and present Isaac in a more favourable light as an emperor defending his position and prerogatives against a Patriarch seeking to vest supreme power in himself.⁹²

In editing the *History* to the desired length and content, Skylitzes refocussed the lens through which readers of his extended chronicle would view certain events and people, but for the most part he did not fundamentally alter Attaleiates' main narrative. He shared his predecessor's attitudes, particularly the conviction common among Byzantine historians that portents, etymologies, or omens were an important part of the historical record, in that they made manifest God's judgments and intervention in human affairs, and offered perceptive observers guidance as to the right course of action. A key distinction that Attaleiates makes in human beings, one that Skylitzes retains, is between those with the acuity to decipher such signs correctly and those oblivious to

90 Magdalino, *Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 267–275.

91 Sections 1.1; 3; cf. the much lengthier account in the *History*, 12.5–11.

92 Angold, *Church and Society*, 22–27; Gilbert Dagron, *Emperor and priest: the imperial office in Byzantium*. Translated by Jean Birrell. Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 237–238.

their true meaning—emperors, rebels, generals, and high officials could all reflect profitably on instructive examples from the past to read the signs of the everchanging present.⁹³ Even though he was writing more than a decade after Attaleiates, when the relations between westerners and Byzantines had been vitiated by the aggression of Robert Guiscard, Skylitzes does not contest Attaleiates' generally favourable view of the Frankish and Norman soldiers who sought service or opportunities in the Byzantine realm.⁹⁴ It was politic in the 1090s, when Alexios was seeking military aid from the west to recover the territories lost to the Turks, to overlook bones of contention that might obstruct the alliances Alexios hoped to forge.⁹⁵

Only in the section on the reign of Michael VII Doukas does Skylitzes add to his chronicle significant material not derived from Attaleiates or from any known source. He has two lengthy digressions, one dealing with a revolt against Byzantine authority in Bulgaria,⁹⁶ the other the loss of the last Byzantine possessions in southern Italy and the rise of Robert Guiscard.⁹⁷ Both enhance the interest of the *Continuation* as the only Greek source for these events. Skylitzes' attention to the Balkans and southern Italy is consistent with his extensive coverage of those regions in the *Synopsis*,⁹⁸ and it is clear from his placement of these sections in his narrative that he saw these developments in close connection with the collapse of the eastern frontier and the destabilising civil unrest that followed. He also regarded them as the result of a longer process, beginning in the 1040s when the combination of neglect, mistaken policies, pressing issues elsewhere, and internal rivalries had opened the way for the Serbo-Croat ruler Michaelas and the Norman warlord Robert Guiscard to exploit the Byzantines' preoccupation with the Turks and the correlative vulnerability of their northern and western frontiers. The silence about these events in the *History*, not to mention the *Chronographia*, appears to have been a deficiency in the historical record that Skylitzes identified and set out to correct, not only for sake of comprehensiveness but for the context necessary to understand the situation that Alexios inherited in the first years of his

93 See especially Krallis, *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 171–211.

94 Magdalino, *Byzantine Background*, 10–13, 29–32, noting that Guiscard is conspicuous by his absence in the *History*.

95 Jonathan Shepard, "Hard on heretics, light on Latins: The balancing-act of Alexios I Komnenos," *TM* 16 (2010), 765–777, esp. 769–771.

96 Section VI.13–19.

97 Section VI.21–25.

98 On Skylitzes' considerable attention to the Balkans and to southern Italy in the *Synopsis*, see Holmes, *Basil II*, 394–428, 429–447.

reign. The most dire threat to his, and the empire's, survival had come not from the Turks but from the Normans under Robert Guiscard; and one of the allies on whom Alexios called for support was Constantine Vodinos, placed by his father Michaelas at the head of the rebelling Bulgarian nobles but defeated, imprisoned, and subsequently compelled to acknowledge Byzantine overlordship.⁹⁹ His vacillations, however, before and after the death of Robert Guiscard complicated the Byzantine position in the Balkans throughout his time as ruler which, as Skylitzes notes, lasted well into the reign of Alexios Komnenos.

The sections on the Balkans and southern Italy make a good place to conclude with a cautionary note about the use of the *Continuation* as a source. Compiled under the aegis of the Komnenoi and hence with a pro-Komnenian slant, serving as something akin to the standard history of recent times, the text can distort as much as it informs. Skylitzes lays the responsibility for the failed marriage negotiations with Robert Guiscard at the door of Michael VII, and assigns the cause of the Bulgarian revolt to his chief official Nikephoritzes, but this need not mean that their policies were wrong. It was not misguided to seek an alliance with Robert Guiscard and get western soldiers to do the fighting against the Turks (exactly as Alexios Komnenos proposed to do twenty years later), and it was not Michael VII but Nikephoros Botaneiates who put an end to the project. This was not the only marriage alliance sought by Michael VII's regime, since there is a garbled reference in the *Continuation* to such a union with the king of Hungary which testifies to his larger diplomatic initiatives to secure the northern and western frontiers.¹⁰⁰ We should not forget that one emperor held up by the Patriarch John Oxiteas as an example to Alexios Komnenos was Constantine X, of all people, whose penitence during the Uze invasion of 1064 had been rewarded with a deliverance greater than any in recent memory—one that Skylitzes cited as proof of divine favour to rulers who propitiated God and showed true obedience and humility before Him.¹⁰¹ More than forty years ago, Paul Lemerle ventured to suggest that the Doukas emperors, and particularly Michael VII, were not necessarily as hapless or ineffective as the sources would have us believe.¹⁰² It is a reminder that had he been working

99 Section VI.17; see also J.-C. Cheynet, "La place de la Serbie dans la diplomatie byzantine à la fin du XI^e siècle," *ZRVI* 45 (2008), 89–97; and Predrag Komatina, "Vizantijska titula Konstantina Bodina," *ZRVI* 48 (2011), 61–76.

100 Section VII.13, with further references.

101 Section II.6–8, and Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite," 40–41.

102 Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 300–302; Magdalino, *Byzantine Background*; Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold*, 252–266.

in different circumstances, Skylitzes could easily have selected or altered his material to give a very different impression of the people and events that had shaped his time.

3 The Translation

The aim of this translation is to provide scholars and students alike with a reliable, readable English version of a Greek text that for the most part poses no great difficulty to the translator. What few problems occur surface in the places where the text appears to be corrupt,¹⁰³ or where the meaning is not entirely clear owing to Skylitzes' overly spare paraphrase of his source.¹⁰⁴ In these instances we refer the reader to notes discussing the problem and possible resolutions; in other instances it has been necessary to add a note pointing out another way in which a word or phrase might be understood, or elucidating usage in the Greek text that cannot be captured exactly in English. In four places we have opted for readings at variance with the editor's choices, but these make for only minor differences.¹⁰⁵

Many of the names (Philaretos, Nikephoros) and all of the offices and titles (*doux*, *kaisar*, *proedros*) have no equivalent in English and are given in transliteration. Readers may refer to the glossary for an explanation of specialised terminology encountered in the translation. On the other hand, where a Greek name (Ioannes, Isaakios, Konstantinos) has an English counterpart, we have preferred to use John, Isaac, and Constantine, not only as the names familiar to English readers but as forms attesting to the diffusion of a common heritage throughout the societies and civilisations rooted in classical and Judaeo-Christian culture. In any event, it is impossible to be completely consistent in the rendition of Byzantine names, much less the Armenian, Slavic, Turkish, or French names rendered in Greek, so a list of the persons appearing in the text has been provided to help the reader keep track of characters known by different versions of the same name (e.g. Rouselios/Roussel de Bailleul).

The Greek text of the *Continuation* runs for eighty pages without division. To make the translation easier to read and to use, we have broken the narrative into chapters and sections, the former titled in accordance with the reigns of each ruler and the section on the battle of Mantzikert, the latter numbered in accordance with discrete themes or topics. The Greek text has been refor-

103 Sections VI.24; VII.9; note the apparent lacunae in IV.8 and VI.13.

104 Sections III.31; V.4; V.17; VI.19, 20.

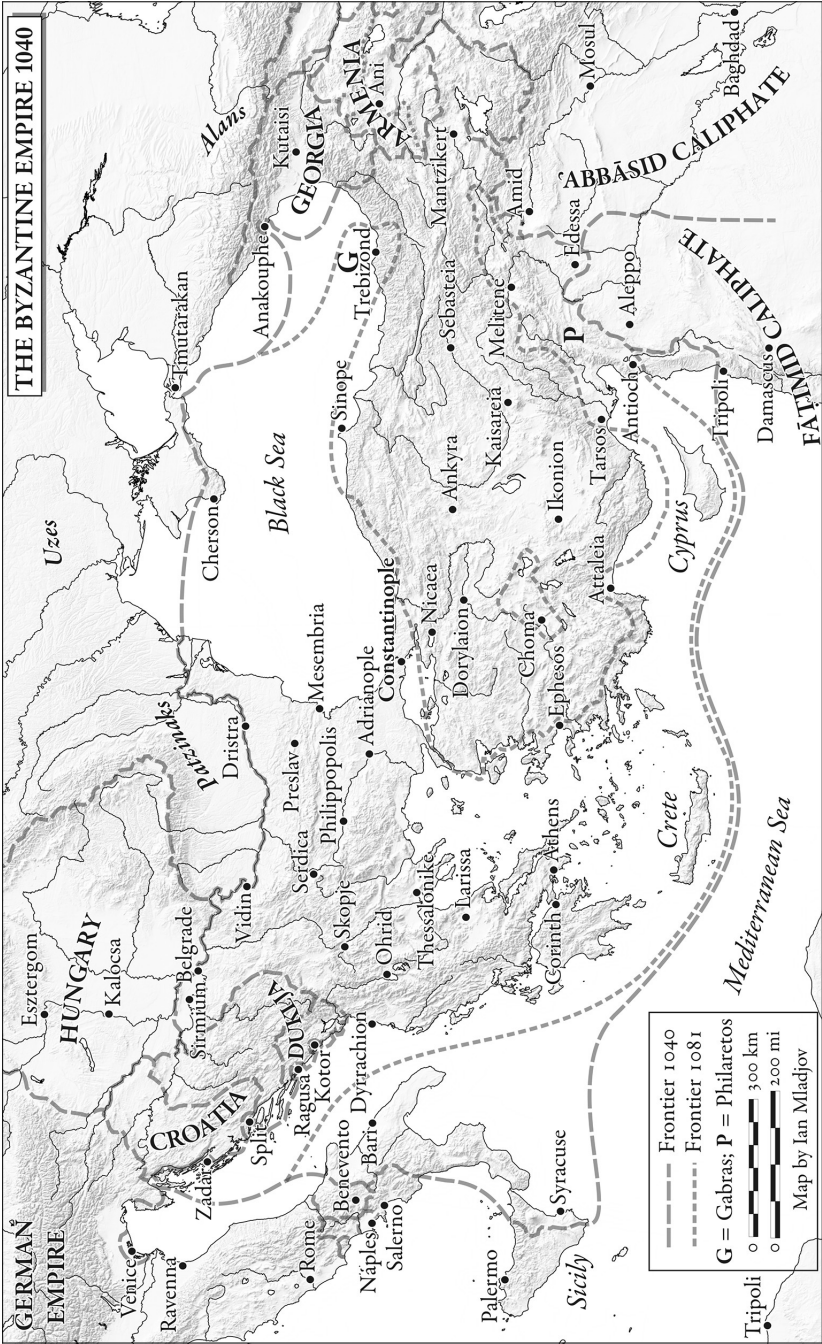
105 Sections II.6; IV.25; V.1; V.16.

matted in accordance with these chapters and sections, but markers indicating the pagination of Tsolakes' 1968 edition have been placed in the text of the English translation, with the page numbers given in the margins of the Greek and English texts. The notes accompanying the translation serve two purposes: first, to discuss technical details, such as points of chronology, citations from Scripture or other texts, links between the *Synopsis* and the *Continuation*, and significant differences between Skylitzes' text and the *History* of Attaleiates. We have also included passages translated from Zonaras that in supplementing or contrasting with Skylitzes' version of events suggest that the later chronicler was working from other sources or presenting alternative views. Secondly, and more importantly, the notes refer the reader to the most recent scholarship on the subjects on which the *Continuation* sheds light, particularly the events and people in this and other sources and the way in which they are portrayed, and the interpretations of this period by contemporaries and by modern historians. The references to other historians or chronicles direct the reader to the English translations of these works where such exist, or to translations in modern languages. Our aim has been to collate the principal primary and secondary sources so that students and specialists may pursue topics of particular interest the more easily. And finally, the maps show the placenames mentioned in the *Continuation* (where known) and assist the reader in following the narrative as it traces the course of events in Anatolia, the Balkans, and southern Italy.

Maps

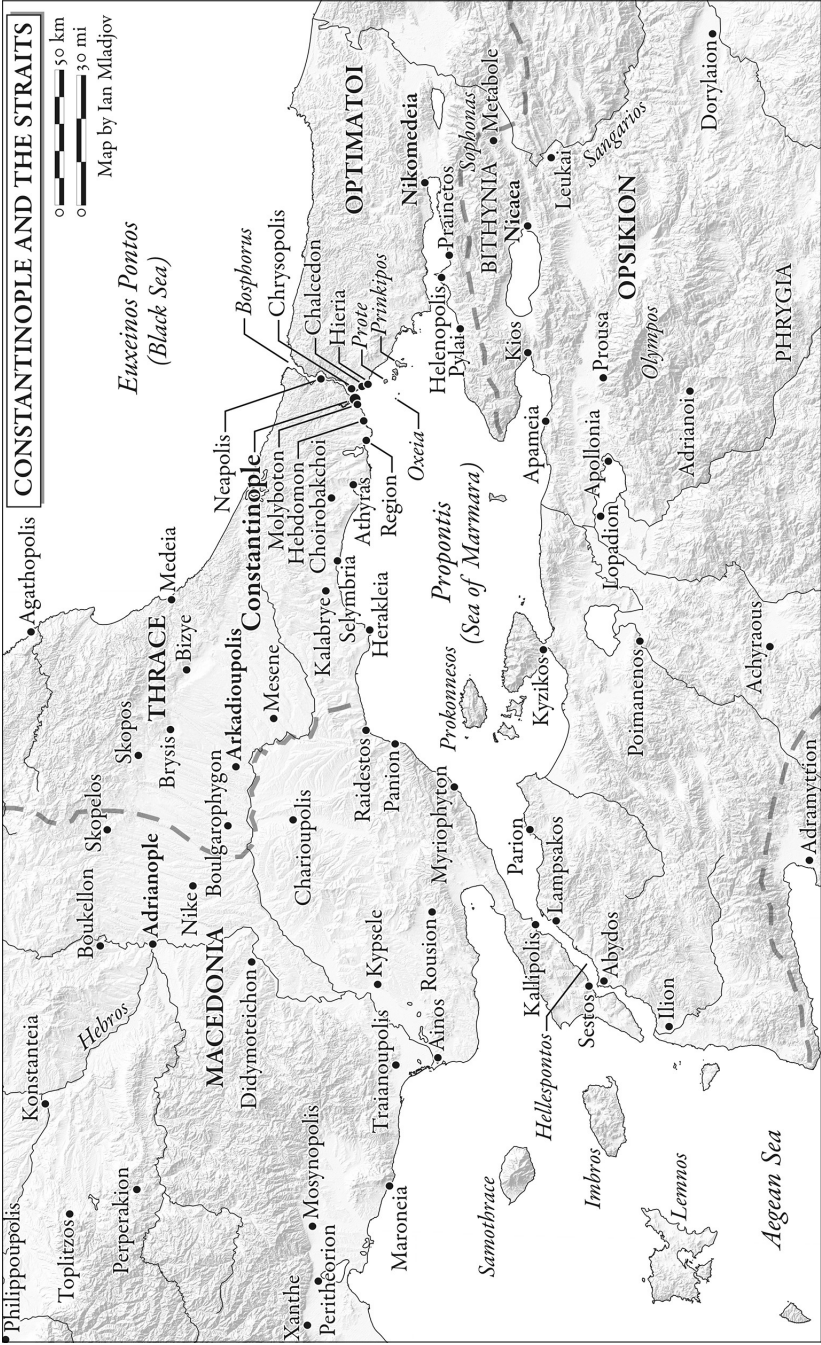


MAP 1



MAP 2





MAP 4

Τὸν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ὃν εἴρηται τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Κομνηνὸς ἀναζωσάμενος δόξαν τε παρ-
 σχηκῶς ἀνδρείας καὶ πείραν πολεμικῆς γενναιότητος, αὐτίκα τῷ βασιλικῷ νομίσματι
 σπαθηφόρος διαχαράττεται, μὴ τῷ Θεῷ τὸ πᾶν ἐπιγράψας, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἰσχύϊ καὶ τῇ
 περὶ πολέμους ἐμπειρίᾳ, καὶ οἷα αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἀπάρχεται πράξεων,
 φιλοτίμοις πρότερον τοὺς συναραμένους αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ σπούδασμα κοσμήσας τιμαῖς
 τό τε δημοτικὸν τῆς προσηκούσης ἀξιώσας προνοίας· καὶ φροντιστάς δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν
 δημοσίων ἀπέδειξε συλλόγων. Τῷ δὲ πατριάρχῃ πολὺ τι νέμων αἰδοῦς ἴσα καὶ πατέρα
 ἐτίμα, διὸ καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀνεψιοὺς ταῖς πρώταις ἀξίαις καὶ πράξεσι περιβλέπτους



FIGURE 4 Seal of the emperor Isaac I Komnenos with his sword drawn, pride going before a fall in the eyes of the chroniclers who recorded his reign.

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The Continuation of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes

I The Reign of Isaac I Komnenos (1 September 1057–22 November 1059)

1. After Isaac Komnenos ascended to the throne in the way described,¹ having confirmed his reputation for courage and military valour, he promptly had his likeness engraved on the imperial coinage bearing a sword,² since he ascribed all that had come about not to God but to his own prowess and proficiency in war. Once emperor, he took up the affairs of state, but not before bestowing honours on his accomplices in the coup and dispensing gifts to the populace with the requisite generosity.³ He appointed many supervisors to ensure that the tax collections were carried out. To the Patriarch Michael Keroularios he accorded a great deal of respect and honoured him just as he would a father, and it was for this reason that he appointed his nephews to high ranks and

1 Cf. *Synopsis* 487.34–500.93; Wortley, 454–465. Isaac had been proclaimed emperor by his supporters on June 8, 1057 and was crowned on September 1. On the rebellion and its significance, see Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold*, 216–219; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 68–70 (no. 80), with full discussion on 339–345.

2 Cf. Attaleiates, *History*, 12.1. Zonaras (xviii.4.2) amplifies Skylitzes' criticism of the emperor's hubris: "once Komnenos was established in power he ascribed his success to himself and not to God, as was made clear when he had his image engraved on a coin bearing a sword, all but crying aloud that 'this and nothing else put me in power.'" Isaac was not the only emperor to issue distinctive coins and seals, and he meant only to proclaim the restoration of strong military leadership. The chroniclers who see it as a sign of Isaac's arrogance, however, reveal the unpopularity of an emperor remembered more for his confiscation of private wealth and his rapacity towards the churches and monasteries than for his prowess in war. The drawn sword also symbolised his drastic measures to repair the state finances, according to Zonaras (xviii.4.8): "He did not undertake to put matters aright in short, easy steps, but just as he had portrayed himself on the coin with his arm outstretched, bearing an unsheathed sword, he applied himself to matters of finance and made ready to lance the swellings without soothing or bandaging the sores." See Penna and Morrisson, "Usurpers and rebels in Byzantium," 33–34; Morrisson, "Displaying the emperor's authority," 77–78.

3 Zonaras (xviii.4.3–4) adds that after distributing rewards to his accomplices, Isaac took the precaution of "making every effort to ready them for the journey home so that they would not cause any disturbance or turn against the populace as they went about the city."

ἀποδέδειχε. Τῇ τε Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ οἰκονομεῖσθαι δι' αὐτῆς τὰ πράγματα ἀφιε-
ροῖ, ἀλλοτριώσας τούτων παντάπασιν τὴν βασιλείαν, ὥστε μὴδ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας μὴτ'
ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν κειμηλίων προνοίας καὶ προστασίας παρὰ βασιλέως τινὰ προχειρί-
ζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου ἐξουσίας ἡρτήσθαι τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τὴν τῶν προσώπων
προχείρισιν καὶ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διοίκησιν. Ἀγαγόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπὸ
τοῦ φρουρίου Πημολίσσης αὐγοῦσταν ἀναγορεύει σεβαστήν. Ἰωάννην δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
καὶ Κατακαλὼν τὸν Κεκαυμένον κουροπαλάτας καὶ ἀμφοτέρους τιμᾷ, μέγαν δομέστι-
κον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὸν προβαλλόμενος.

104 Σκοπήσας δὲ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἀναγκαῖον, ὦν οὐδὲν ἄνευ κατὰ τὸν ῥήτορα περαί-
νεται, διὰ τὸ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἡσθενηκέναι καὶ τέλεον τεταπεινώσθαι ἐκ τῆς κατεχού-
σης ἐνδείας τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ πανταχόθεν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντας κατεπαίρεσθαι,
ὁ πρὸς ἀδοξίαν αὐτῷ ἦν καὶ πάντων βαρύτερον ἐλογίζετο, βαρὺς ἐχρημάτισε φορολό-
γος τοῖς χρεωστοῦσι δημόσια. Καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀφικίων δὲ δόσεις αὐτὸς πρῶτος περιέτε-



FIGURE 5 Seal of John Komnenos, *kouropalates* and Domestic of the Schools of the West, the title and rank to which he was raised by his brother the emperor Isaac. He lacked the imperial ambition of his wife Anna Dalassene and his son Alexios. He served Isaac loyally but declined to succeed him in 1059, making way for Constantine Doukas who in return seems to have left him in his high station. Further evidence of some sort of bargain between the two families can be adduced from the fact that Isaac's brother-in-law Aaron, already *katepano* of Mesopotamia, received promotion to *proedros*, *protostrator* and *doux* during the reign of Constantine X.

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prominent places in the affairs of state.⁴ To the Great Church he awarded the right to administer its own affairs, removing these from imperial jurisdiction completely. As a result no one was appointed to its administration nor to the care and custody of the holy treasures by the emperor; instead, everything depended on the authority of the Patriarch,⁵ even the promotion of personnel and the conduct of affairs. He brought his wife from the fortress of Pemolissa⁶ and proclaimed her empress. He rewarded both his brother John and Katakalon Kekaumenos with the title of *kouropalates*, while promoting his brother to *megas domestikos*.⁷

2. When he saw the need for money, “without which,” in the words of the orator, “nothing is accomplished,”⁸ that arose from the weakened condition of the military, | the complete humiliation of the empire caused by the prevail- 104
ing indigence, and all the peoples on all sides behaving arrogantly towards the Romans, which was a source of disgrace to him and weighed more heavily on him than any other matter, he became an oppressive tax collector to persons

4 The leader of a failed bid for the throne in 1040, Keroularios had been forced to enter a monastery but still harboured political ambitions, especially for his family. Elevated to the office of Patriarch in 1043, he did not hesitate to intervene or arbitrate in secular affairs; see Tinnefeld, “Michael I. Keroullarios,” for an outline of his career. Keroularios and his nephews Constantine and Nikephoros had been instrumental in rallying support for Isaac within Constantinople. According to Attaleiates, *History*, 11.9, it was the Patriarch who compelled Michael VI Stratiotikos to abdicate and retire to a monastery. On Constantine’s career and involvement in dynastic politics, see Jeffreys, “Constantine, nephew of the Patriarch Keroularios,” in Jeffreys and Lauxtermann, *The Letters of Psellos*, 59–88.

5 Zonaras (xviii.4.5–6) provides a little more detail: “he transferred the management of ecclesiastical affairs to the Church, since up until that time the *megas oikonomos* had been appointed by the emperor, as had been the *skeuophylax*, and he put the two offices under the authority of the Patriarch, withdrawing both from state jurisdiction.”

6 Cf. *Synopsis*, 492.53–54 (Wortley, 458), Today Osmancık. Before embarking on his coup, Isaac had entrusted his wife and possessions to the care of his brother John and sent them to Pemolissa, a fortress perched on a high rock near the bank of the Halys river, 500km east of Constantinople astride the military road leading to Erzurum.

7 John Komnenos, husband of Anna Dalassene and father of the future emperor Alexios I Komnenos, as well as of Manuel (below, section iv.25) and Isaac (section vi.4) had a long military and administrative career. He became supreme commander of the armies of the West upon his brother Isaac’s accession. The brothers’ early lives, their marriages, and children, are reviewed by Bryennios, *Histoire* 74–78. Previously *magistros* and *doux* of Antioch, Katakalon Kekaumenos figures prominently in the latter parts of the *Synopsis* as a heroic commander and a principal architect of Isaac’s successful coup. Isaac’s reward, however, did not secure his loyalty, since he was later accused of plotting against the emperor and banished to a monastery. On Kekaumenos’ role in 1057, and his record of events that Skylitzes may have used, see Shepard, “Memoirs as manifesto,” 190–201.

8 Demosthenes, *First Olynthiac*, 20. Also quoted in the *Synopsis*, 316.12 (Wortley, 300).

μεν. Ἐμέλησε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ φειδωλίας καὶ τοῦ προσθήκην ἀγρῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ποιήσασθαι. Διὸ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἰδιωτικὰ πρόσωπα πολλῶν ἀπεστέρησε κτήσεων τὰς χρυσοβούλλους αὐτῶν γραφὰς παριδῶν, ἐνέσκηψε δὲ καὶ τισι τῶν φροντιστηρίων καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῶν κτήσεις ἀφελόμενος διὰ λογοποιίας τὸ ἀρκοῦν ἐγκαταλιπὼν τοῖς μονάζουσι, τῷ δημοσίῳ τὸ περισσὸν προσαφώρισε· πρᾶγμα τοῖς μὲν ἀκρίτως σκοποῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου ἀσεβείας καὶ παρανομίας εἰσάγον καὶ πρὸς ἱεροσυλίαν ἀναφερόμενον, ἀποτέλεσμα δὲ μὴδὲν ἄτοπον φέρον τοῖς ἐμβριθῶς σκοποῦσι καὶ πνευματικῶς, ἅτε (μὴ) ἀκτημοσύνης ἀπάγον τοὺς ταύτην ἐπαγγεिलाμένους καὶ τὴν συβαριτικὴν καὶ χλιδῶσαν περικόπτον τρυφὴν καὶ μὴδὲ τῶν πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν ἐπιτηδεῖων καὶ ἀναγκαίων ἀποστεροῦν καὶ τοὺς ἀγρογεῖτονας τῆς ἐκ τῶν μοναχῶν κακότητος καὶ πλεονεξίας ἐλευθεροῦν. Ὁ καὶ εἶθε αὐτῷ εἰς τέλος κατάρθωτο οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς σεμνείοις μόνοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ ὠκονόμητο καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς τοῦτον εἶχε τῶν πόλεων.

105 Ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπλήστῳ εὐνοίᾳ θαρρήσας ἐφρονηματίσατο καὶ κατ' αὐτοῦ, οὐκ αἰτήσεσι καὶ παραινέσεσι χρώμενος, εἴ ποτέ τινος δέοιτο καὶ ὑπέρτινος, ἀλλὰ πολλὰκις ἀποτυγχάνων διὰ τὸ τῶν αἰτήσεων συνεχὲς καὶ φορτικὸν ἀπειλαῖς ἐχρήτο καὶ ἐπιτιμίοις ἀποτόμοις, καὶ εἶγε μὴ πείθοιτο καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκπτωσιν ἀπειλούμενος, τὸ δημῶδες τοῦτο καὶ κατημαξευμένον ἐπιλέγων: «Ἐγὼ σὲ ἔκτισα, φοῦρ|νε, καὶ ἐγὼ νὰ σὲ χαλάσω». Ἐπεβάλετο δὲ καὶ κοκκοβοφῇ περιβαλέσθαι πέδιλα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱερωσύνης φάσκων εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθος καὶ δεῖν τούτοις κἂν τῇ νέᾳ κεχρηθῇ τὸν ἀρχιερέα. Ἱερωσύνης γὰρ καὶ βασιλείας τὸ διαφέρειν οὐδὲν ἢ καὶ ὀλίγον ἔλεγεν εἶναι· ἐν δὲ γε τοῖς τιμιωτέροις καὶ πλέον ἔχειν καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι ἐρίτιμον. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνωτιζόμενος ὑπ' ὀδόντα λαλούμενα ἔσπευσε μᾶλλον δρᾶσαι ἢ

9 Cf. Zonaras, XVIII.4.9–10: “Hence he started not from the time he took power and transformed what had been a rebellion into lawful rule, but went back in time and overturned the acts of his predecessor—if Michael had made anyone a bequest, Komnenos reclaimed it and took it away from the recipients. Not only that, he also cancelled and abrogated many acts of the emperors before him, and he did this not only with regard to the general populace but to members of the Senate whom he did not spare either.”

10 διὰ λογοποιίας: this could also mean “through his casuistry” or “devious arguments.”

11 Krallis, *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 120–126, argues that Attaleiates (and hence Skylitzes, who follows his lead) took a favourable view of Isaac’s policies since this emperor saw the connection between money and its proper use in protecting his subjects from foreign and internal encroachments. There is an implied criticism of Isaac’s predecessors and successors who amassed money but put it to frivolous purposes.

12 It went both ways, according to Zonaras, XVIII.5.1: “The Patriarch was no less arrogant than the emperor.”

13 Keroularios had been no less imperious towards previous sovereigns. Psellos relates that the empress Theodora resented his insistence that she take a husband and would have deposed him had she lived: *Chronographia*, VI, 220.1–10 (Sewter, 269).

who owed taxes. He was also the first to cut back the salaries of office. He was concerned with exercising frugality and gaining possession of additional lands for the crown, and he therefore deprived many private persons of many crown properties, paying no heed to their chrysobulls.⁹ He trained his sights on some of the monasteries, and after expropriating many of their properties and by calculating their assets,¹⁰ leaving the monks with just enough for their needs, he assigned everything left over to the treasury. His action, which to observers lacking good judgment issued from a plainly impious and unlawful motive and verged on sacrilege, brought no harmful result in the eyes of people who took a serious and spiritual view of the matter. It led those who had forsworn acquiring goods away from doing so, and it curtailed their indulgence and wanton pleasure without depriving them of the materials and necessities for their way of life. It also freed the neighbouring landowners from the vice and greed of the monks. Would that he had succeeded completely in this aim, not only in the holy monasteries but in all the church lands generally. And so this was how the emperor administered affairs, and how the Queen of Cities kept him occupied.¹¹

3. Emboldened by the boundless good will of the emperor, the Patriarch became arrogant towards him.¹² He did not make requests or proposals if ever he asked for something or on behalf of someone, but as he increasingly failed in his aims because of the frequency and burdensome nature of his requests, he began to use threats and brusque reprimands,¹³ threatening to depose him from the throne if he did not obey, and addressing him with this vulgar turn of phrase,¹⁴ “I built you, oven, | and I can take you apart.” He took it upon himself to wear the purple boots, claiming that this had been the custom of the ancient clergy and that a Patriarch in the modern-day clergy should use them too. He said that there was little or no difference between ecclesiastical and secular authority, and that he held greater place in the ranks of honour and was to be the more highly esteemed.¹⁵ Biting his tongue as he heard this kind of talk, the

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14 τὸ δημῶδες τοῦτο καὶ κατημαξενύενον ἐπιλέγων: cf. *Synopsis* 484.37 (Wortley, 452).

15 By wearing the purple sandals Keroularios asserted the authority of the high priest over the emperor and the parity of the Constantinopolitan patriarch with the Roman pontiff: Dagron, *Emperor and Patriarch*, 235–247; Cheynet, “Le patriarche *tyrannos*”; Krallis, “Sacred Emperor, holy Patriarch,” and *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 101–105. Yet we should also remember that the clash between Keroularios and Isaac Komnenos was rooted not only in the contest between the sacerdotal and the imperial but even more in the rivalry between the factions that formed around either man during the revolt of 1057; see Cheynet, “Patriarches et empereurs,” 5–8, who notes that Katakalon Kekaumenos, not Isaac, was Keroularios’ preferred candidate.

παθεῖν. “Ὅθεν καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀρχαγγέλων ἐφισταμένης ἐορτῆς ἅπεισι μὲν ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως (παρ’ αὐτοῦ συστάν φροντιστήριον), φιλοτίμως τὰ τῆς ἐορτῆς ἐκτελέσαι φροντίζων. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν καιρὸν ὡς ἔρμαιον ἀρπάσας, ἵνα μὴ θόρυβος καὶ τάραχος γένηται ὑπείδόμενος, στίφος στρατιωτικὸν ἀποστείλας—Βαράγγους αὐτοὺς ἢ κοινῇ ὀνομάζει διάλεκτος—ἀνάρπαστον ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἀτίμως ἐπαίρουσι, καὶ ἡμιόνῳ καθίσαντες συνήλαυνον ἄχρι τῆς ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἀκτῆς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἐκείθεν τε λέμβῳ ἐμβληθέντας εἰς τὴν νῆσον Προικόννησον περιορίζουσι. Κοινολογησάμενος δὲ τισι τῶν μητροπολιτῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ καθαιρέσεως συνδιασκεψάμενος, τοὺς λογιωτέρους αὐτῶν ἐπιλεξάμενος δηλοῖ δι’ αὐτῶν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην, πρὶν ἂν ἀτίμως αὐτὴν ἀποβάλληται συνόδῳ καὶ συλλόγῳ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν δημοσιευθέντων. Ἀνάλωτος δὲ τούτοις ὀφθεῖς καὶ ἀταπεινώτος τά γε ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, ἀπέγνωστο αὐτῷ ἢ καθαιρέσεις. Φροντίζοντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ ταύτης διηνεκῶς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον ὁ πατριάρχης εἰρηνικῶς. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μετανοίᾳ βληθεὶς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰσάγει ἐντίμως καὶ τῇ μονῇ αὐτοῦ ἀποτίθεται, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ συμβάντι θαύματι αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἡ γὰρ χεὶρ ἢ δεξιὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου σταυροειδῶς σχηματισθεῖσα, ἥ ἔθος εὐλογεῖν ἐπιφωνοῦντας τῷ λαῷ τὴν εἰρήνην, μεμένηκεν ἄτρεπτος μὴ συναλλοιωθεῖσα τῇ νεκρώσει τοῦ σώματος.

Προχειρίζεται δὲ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ πατριάρχης Κωνσταντίνος πρόεδρος καὶ πρωτοβεστι-
 106 ἄριος ὁ Λειχούδης, πρότερον ψήφου προβάσης ἐπ’ αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν καὶ
 τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, ἀνὴρ μέγιστον διαλάμψας τοῖς βασιλικοῖς καὶ πολι-
 τικοῖς πράγμασιν ἀπὸ τε τῆς τοῦ Μονομάχου ἀναρρήσεως καὶ μέχρι τοῦ τηνικάδε

16 ἔσπευσε μάλλον δρᾶσαι ἢ παθεῖν: cf. *Synopsis*, 114.49–50 (Wortley, 114), 128.33–34 (Wortley, 128), 131.9 (Wortley, 130), 187.67 (Wortley 181), 236.77 (Wortley, 227).

17 November 8, 1058.

18 The monastery of the Archangel Michael, located a little to the west of the capital. The devotion to the cult of St Michael, so pronounced in the closely allied families of the Keroularioi, Doukai, and Makrembolitai, and its indication of political allegiances are discussed by Cheynet, “Par Saint Georges, par Saint Michel,” 124–128.

19 He was right to be wary, since Keroularios had many supporters in the city and could conjure up a crowd (or riot) very quickly, as he had on previous occasions. See Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 51–52 (no. 50), 59–60 (no. 65), 64 (no. 73), 68–70 (nos. 80 and 81), with further comments on 167, 203, 314–315.

20 At the emperor’s request Psellos drew up the brief for the prosecution, the *Accusation of the Patriarch Keroularios*, in which he charges the Patriarch all manner of crimes: impiety, heresy, paganism, sedition, murder, and sacrilege. It was the scope, not the credibility, of these charges that mattered; in the contest for popular support Isaac had to depict Keroularios as the root of all evil. See Ljubarsky, “Fall of an intellectual,” and Kaldellis and Polemis, *Psellos and the Patriarchs*, 11–22.

21 Keroularios died on January 21, 1059.

emperor undertook to act rather than be acted upon.¹⁶ Therefore, when the Feast of the Archangel arrived¹⁷ and the Patriarch departed for the monastery which he had established just outside the city,¹⁸ intending to celebrate the Feast-day with all due honour, the emperor seized upon the occasion as a god-send, as he was wary lest there be an uproar or disturbance.¹⁹ He despatched a body of soldiers—common parlance refers to them as Varangians—who carried off the Patriarch, once he had been dragged unceremoniously from his throne, and after seating him on a mule conducted him and his nephews as far as the coast at Blachernai. From there, they put them on a boat and confined them on the island of Prokonnesos. After conferring with some of the metropolitans and looking into his deposition, the emperor selected the more learned of them and sent word through them that the Patriarch should resign his office before he lost it in disgrace before a synod and public presentation of charges against him.²⁰ But the Patriarch was clearly unmoved by them and had no intention of being humiliated besides, and he refused his deposition. As the emperor deliberated on this matter continuously, the Patriarch meanwhile departed this life in peace.²¹ Stricken by remorse, the emperor brought back his body with honour and placed it in his monastery,²² whereupon he was amazed, as were his attendants, at the miracle which occurred. For the right hand of the Patriarch was formed in the sign of the cross, | in the way he used to bless those intoning peace to the laity, and it remained unaltered, without being changed by the mortification of the body.²³

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4. The *proedros* and *protovestiaros* Constantine Leichoudes was appointed Patriarch in his place, after the vote of the metropolitans, the clergy, and all the laity had gone to him. He was a man who had shone most brilliantly in imperial and political affairs since the proclamation of Monomachos down to this time.²⁴ He had acquired a great reputation in the direction of public pol-

22 Zonaras (xviii.5.8–9), likewise emphasizing Isaac's contrition, adds, "moreover, he restored the Patriarch's nephews to their former ranks."

23 On the circumstances and political consequences of Keroularios' deposition and death, see the funeral oration that Psellos was called upon to pronounce before the emperor Constantine x Doukas and his wife Eudokia Makrembolitissa (the Patriarch's niece), in Kaldellis and Polemis, *Psellos and the Patriarchs*, 111–123; see also Krallis, "Sacred Emperor, Holy Patriarch," for a close reading of Attaleiates' account of events.

24 Constantine ix Monomachos was proclaimed emperor on June 11, 1042; he reigned until January 11, 1055. Note that Leichoudes had been one of the ambassadors sent by Michael vi to negotiate with Isaac Komnenos in 1057; he seems to have earned Isaac's trust on that occasion. On his life and career, see the funeral oration in Kaldellis and Polemis, *Psellos and the Patriarchs*, 129–162.

καιροῦ, καὶ μέγα κλέος ἐπὶ τῷ μεσασμῷ τῆς τῶν ὅλων διοικήσεως ἀπενεγκάμενος καὶ τῆς τῶν Μαγγάνων προνοίας καὶ τῶν δικαιωμάτων φύλαξ παρὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου βασιλέως καταλειφθεὶς. Εἰ καὶ προβέβλητο γοῦν καὶ οὐκ ἐνδοιάσιμον τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην καὶ πατριαρχίαν ἐκέκτητο καὶ ἀναμφήριστον, ἀλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς φροντίζων ὅπως τῶν τοιούτων δικαιωμάτων ἐγκρατὴς γένηται, τοῦτον εἶναι καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον οἰηθεὶς, πρεσβυτέρῳ χειροτονηθέντι ἐπέσχε τὴν ἐντελὴ χρῆσιν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης, «ἄχρις ἂν» φησὶ «τὰ ὑποτονθορυζόμενα κατὰ σοῦ σκοπηθῇ συνοδικῶς τε καὶ κανονικῶς». Ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνος μὴ ἀγνοήσας δι' ὃν ταῦτα τρόπον τυρεύεται κατ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀδόκητον λογιζόμενος, φέρων τὰ ζητούμενα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπιδίδωσι. Καὶ ἔκτοτε ἀδιστάκτως καὶ δίχα τινὸς προφάσεως πάντα τελεῖται ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὅσα ἔθος τελεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς χειροτονουμένοις. Γέγονε δὲ δωρηματικὸς καὶ προνοητικὸς οὐ τῶν τῆς



FIGURE 6 Seal of Constantine *vestarches*, judge of the Velum, and grand *kourator* of the *sekreton* of the Mangana (ca. 1075). The distinctive image of St Nicholas and St Menas Kallikellados raising their hands in prayer to the medallion of Christ is found on two other seals of Constantine, identified as a nephew of the Patriarch Michael Keroularios and a cousin of the empress Eudokia Makrembolitissa. Arrested and exiled along with the Patriarch in 1058, he was restored to favour by Isaac Komnenos to placate public opinion after Keroularios' death. Though suspected of harbouring imperial ambitions himself, he held a number of high financial and legal offices under the Doukas emperors, including the profitable administration of the Mangana complex.

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icy, and he had been left as guardian of the administration and property titles of the Mangana by the aforementioned Monomachos.²⁵ Although he had been put forward and had obtained the office of prelate and the patriarchate without contention or dispute, the emperor gave some thought as to how he could take control of these titles. Considering this to be the opportune moment, he withheld the formal confirmation of the patriarchate from him after he had been ordained a priest, “until such time” he said, “that the whisperings against you can be examined before the synod in accordance with the canons.” Constantine was not unaware of the means by which these allegations were being concocted against him, and taking into account the unseemliness of scandal he returned the requested rights to the emperor.²⁶ From then on without hindrance or any hint of insinuation he performed all the duties which it is customary for the ordained to perform.²⁷ He was munificent and foresightful not only with

25 Leichoudes had served as *mesazon*, or chief counsellor to the emperor. Mangana here refers to St George of the Mangana, a complex of buildings (homes for the aged, poor, and foreigners, a hospital, monastery, church, law school, gardens and palace) established by Constantine IX after 1042. These operations were financed by an annual donation and tax exempt lands given to the foundation at its inception. The emperor appointed Leichoudes head of the complex with an arrangement that allowed him to keep the surplus of the revenues generated; see Lemerle, *Cinq Etudes*, 273–283; Oikonomides, “St George of the Mangana”; and Lauritzen, “Leichoudes’ *pronoia* of the Mangana.”

26 Zonaras (XVIII.5.9–12) tells the same story, but in darker shades. After noting that Monomachos had granted the administration of the Mangana to Leichoudes and entrusted him with the documents concerning its independence (in other words, the immunity of its revenues and administration from taxation and imperial oversight), he states: “Wishing to appropriate these documents for himself, Komnenos came up with a scheme full of wickedness, the product of an evil mind. For when Leichoudes had been elected and appointed and was already ordained a priest, he sent word to him in secret that there were rumours about him that would prevent him from being consecrated, and that if these rumours were not discussed before the Synod, it would be impossible for him to be anointed Patriarch. ‘If you give me the property titles of the Mangana,’ he said, ‘I will overlook the rumours and allow you to be anointed.’ Realising that he could no longer revert to his former status, and considering that he would thus remain in disgrace, he handed over the required titles, and so the ritual of patriarchal ordination could proceed.” In his discussion of this story, Lemerle notes that *l’affaire* Keroularios had shown Leichoudes what the emperor was capable of: *Cinq Etudes*, 280–282.

27 Leichoudes became Patriarch on February 2, 1059. This is by no means the only instance of a *quid pro quo* between emperor and patriarch. A large donation from the empress Zoe persuaded the Patriarch Alexios Stoudites to unite her in marriage to Michael the Paphlagonian immediately after the murder of Romanos III Argyros (1034); handing over the fortune accumulated by Stoudites was part of the deal by which Michael Keroularios was made Patriarch by Constantine IX Monomachos in 1043. Skylitzes, *Synopsis* 390.95–391.8, 429.18–24 (Wortley, 368–369, 404); Lemerle, *Cinq Etudes*, 254, 259.

Ἐκκλησίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς, ὡς μηδὲνα ὑπολειφθῆναι τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας ἀμέτοχον, τὸν μὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ χειρὸς ἀπολαύσαντα.

107 Τῶν Οὐγγρων δὲ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἰρήνην διαλυσάντων καὶ τῶν Πατζινάκων δὲ ἔξερπυσάντων τῶν φωλεῶν οἷς ἐνεκρύβησαν καὶ τὴν παρακειμένην χώραν σινόντων, τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκστρατείαν ἐξαρτύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξεισι πασίρρωμος εἰς Τριάδιτζαν. Ἐκεῖσέ τε πρέσβεις πρὸς τῶν Οὐγγρων δεξάμενος, τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰρήνην κυρώσας καὶ ἐμπεδώσας | ὡς ἐνῆν, ἐπὶ τοὺς Πατζινάκους ἐξώρμησε. Διηρημένων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ γενεάς καὶ φατρίας, οἱ μὲν λοιποὶ ἡγεμόνες τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑποκλιθέντες εἰρηνικά τε καὶ φίλια ἐφρόνησαν, μόνος δὲ ὁ Σελτέ χεῖρας δοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἠθέλησε, τοῖς ἔλεσι τοῦ Ἰστρου οἷς συνέφυγε καὶ τῇ ἐκεῖσε ἀποκρήμνῳ πέτρᾳ ἐπεριδόμενος, οἷς καὶ θαρρήσας εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐξῆλθε συρράξαι τῷ βασιλεῖ προθυμούμενος. Οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν δὲ τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἀπονοίας ἀποίσαστο τὰ ἐπίχειρα· βραχείας γὰρ μερίδος τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀντιταχθείσης αὐτῷ φυγὰς ᾤχετο, καὶ τὸ κρησφύγετον αὐτοῦ ληφθὲν κατηρειπώθη ἐκ βάθρων αὐτῶν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὸ τοῦτον τροπώσασθαι καὶ ἀφανίσαι ἄρδην, ἀναζεύξας ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν τῷ Λοβιτζῷ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ πρόποδας. Ῥαγδαῖος δὲ ὄμβρος τῇ παρεμβολῇ ἐπικαταρραγεῖς καὶ νιφετὸς ἔξωρος—Σεπτέμβριος γὰρ ἦν μὴν ἡμέραν ἄγων κδ', καθ' ἣν ἡ τῆς ἀγίας καὶ πρωτομάρτυρος Θέκλας ἑορτὴ τελεῖται χριστιανοῖς—πολλῆς κακώσεως καὶ λύμης ἐνέπλησε τὸ στρατιωτικόν· ἢ τε γὰρ ἵππος σχεδὸν ἅπασα καὶ τῶν παρόντων οἱ πλείους τῷ κρῦει καὶ τῷ ὄμβρῳ, γυμνοὶ καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι τυγχάνοντες, τὸ ζῆν ἐναπέρρηξαν. Ἐπιλελοίπασιν δὲ παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ποταμίων ρευμάτων φορὰς καὶ χειμῶνος γενόμενα πάρεργον. Ἀναστολῆς δὲ μετρίας γενομένης καὶ τῶν νιφετῶν ἀνακωχὴν λαβόντων ἐξῆι ὁ βασιλεὺς, πλείστους δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ ἀποβαλὼν ὑπὸ σκιὰν ἔστη δένδρου τινὸς ἅμα τῶν ὑπερεχόντων τισί. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἡχῆς γενομένης ἐκ τῆς δρυὸς πρόεισι μικρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅσον μὴ τῷ μήκει ταύτης καταλαμβάνεσθαι, ῥιζόθεν δ' αὕτη ἀνασπασθεῖσα ὑπτία τῇ γῇ προσήρεισε. Γέγονε δὲ ἐνεὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς λογισάμενος οἷας τελευτῆς ἐπωδύνου παρὰ μικρὸν τυχεῖν ἔμελλεν. Ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἀγαθὸς οἶωνός τὸ συμβάν, ἀλλὰ προοίμιον τῆς μελλούσης αὐτὸν καταλαβεῖν τύχης καὶ τῶν ἤδη γεγενημένων εἴσπραξις καὶ τιμωρία.

28 The modern Sofia, first known as Serdica or Sardica in ancient times; note that Skylitzes uses both these toponyms elsewhere in the text (sections III.6, VII.9). The Slavic form Sredec seems to have come into Greek as Triaditza, the name in general use during the tenth century.

29 Isaac's campaign and its limited effects in face of the increasing pressure along the northern frontier are discussed by Shepard, "Byzantium and the Steppe-nomads," and Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, 80–116, esp. 94–96.

30 Selte was one of the four Patzinak chieftains recruited by Constantine IX Monomachos for service against the Turks in 1049. When instead they turned back and caused trouble in the Balkans, Selte encamped in Lobitzos and eluded a Byzantine army sent to deal with

regard to the affairs of the Church, but, simply put, in all matters, and there was no one left without a measure of his care, no one who did not benefit at his hand.

5. When the Hungarians broke the peace with the Romans and the Patzinaks came slithering out of the dens where they lurked to plunder the neighbouring territory, the emperor made preparations for a military expedition and set out in full strength to Triaditza.²⁸ There he received envoys from the Hungarians, and after concluding and confirming peace with them as best he could, | he set out against the Patzinaks.²⁹ They are divided into tribes and clans, and 107 whereas the rest of the chieftains submitted to the emperor and pledged peace and friendship, Selte alone refused to offer his hand in peace to the emperor.³⁰ He made his camp in the marshes of Danube, where he had taken refuge, on a steep rock there, and feeling secure in these abodes he ventured out into the plain eager to do battle with the emperor. It was not long before he reaped the reward of his folly. For when a small detachment of the imperial forces drew up against him, he turned and fled, and his abandoned hideout was demolished down to its foundations. After routing this man and seeing him off for good, the emperor began the return march and camped round the foot of the hill at Lobitzos.³¹ A sudden downpour and an unseasonable snowstorm came sweeping down on the encampment—this was on the twenty-fourth of September, the day on which Christians celebrate the feast of the holy protomartyr Thekla—and inflicted great suffering and harm upon the army. Nearly all the cavalry and most of the men on hand lost their lives from the cold and wet since they happened to be lightly clad and ill prepared. There was also an unfortunate loss of supplies when these were swept away by the force of the floodwaters and the stormy weather. When moderate weather returned and the blizzards came to an end, the emperor resumed the march, and after losing a great many men in the river he came to stand beneath the shade of a tree with some of his officers. A few moments later there was a noise from the oak tree and the emperor stepped aside just far enough not to be caught beneath its trunk—it had been completely uprooted and gone crashing full length to the ground. The emperor was dumbfounded when he realised what a painful death he had so nearly met. This event was not a favourable omen, but a portent of the fate about to befall him and the exaction and punishment for the deeds he had committed. Giving

him. See *Synopsis*, 460–461 (Wortley, 430–432); Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, 89–93.

31 Today Loveč, in Bulgaria, about 50 km south of the Danube.

Εὐχαριστῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι τῷ Θεῷ ναὸν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ἐπὶ
108 τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς πρωτομάρτυρος Θέκλας ἀνήγειρε κάλλιπτον.

Προβιβάζων δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἀπῆει ταχέως ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, λογοποιομένην ἀποστασίαν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ ἐνωτιζόμενος. Καταλαβὼν δὲ καὶ πάντα ψευδῇ εὐρηκῶς κυνηγεσίῳ αὐτὸν ἐψυχαγῶγει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνέσει κατὰ τὸν τῇ βασιλίδι προκείμενον πορθμὸν ἀνιών. Περὶ δὲ ὥραν ἀρίστου φῶς ἀστραπηβόλον τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις ἐνέσκηψε, Νεάπολις τούτοις τὸ γνῶρισμα, χοῖρός τέ ποθεν ἐπιφανεῖς ἐφ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα ἐξεκαλέσατο, ὃν ἐπιδιώκων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄχρι καὶ θαλάσσης ἐξήλασεν. Ὡς δὲ ὁ χοῖρος τὴν θάλασσαν εἰσδὺς ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαίφνης πληγεὶς τῷ ἀστραπηβόλῳ φωτὶ τοῦ ἵππου τε ἀπεσφαιρίσθη καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἀφρίζων ἐκυλίετο. Ἀκατίῳ δὲ ἐμβληθεὶς πρὸς τὰ βασιλεια διασώζεται παρακεκομμένος καὶ αὐτοῦ μηδόλως ἐπαισθανόμενος. Νοσημαχῆσας δὲ ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς τὸν μόρον ἐκαραδόκει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς ἐξιλέωσιν τοῦ θείου ἀσπάζεται τὴν μετάνοιαν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣς παρὰ νόμῳ ἐδράξατο, ἐκοντὶ μεθίησι, τοῦτό γε καλῶς ποιησάμενος, καὶ τὸν μοναδικὸν ἀσπάζεται βίον, τὴν πρὶν εὐδοξίαν καὶ τρυφὴν ὑποπτώσει ἐκουσίᾳ καὶ μετριότητι διορθούμενος. Ὁ δὲ μάλλον δείκνυσιν ὡς εἰλικρινῶς καὶ ψυχῆς ἐξ ὅλης μεταμεμέλῃται ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξε, βασιλέα προχειρίζεται οὐ τὸν ὁμαίμονα αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην, οὐ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρον τὸν Δοκειανόν, οὐκ ἄνδρα προσζεύξας τῇ θυγατρὶ οὐτ' ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν πρὸς αἷμα ὥκειωμένων αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρόεδρον Κωνσταντῖνον, ᾧ Δούκας τὸ πατρωνυμικὸν ἀνέκαθεν ἦν, ὡς συνίστορα καὶ συναγωνιστὴν καὶ χρημάτων ποριστὴν ἀφθονώτατον εἰς τὴν τῆς βασιλείας κατάσχεσιν.

Ὁ δὲ Κομνηνὸς ῥάκια μοναχικὰ περιβαλλόμενος, ἐπ' ὀλίγον γνωσιμαχῆσας εἴ πως ἀνεθίῃ τῆς νόσου, ἐπέειπερ ἔγνω κατ' ἄκρας ταύτῃ ἀλούς, ἔτι τῇ νόσῳ τρυχόμενος
109 τὴν τοῦ Στουδίου καταλαμβάνει μονήν, πολλὰ καὶ τῆς αὐγούστης Αἰκατερίνης συμβαλλομένης | αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον καὶ τῇ τῆς ἐπιγείου βασιλείας ἀποβολῇ τὴν

32 This is the church where Anna Dalassene attended to her daily devotions, as her granddaughter Anna Komnene records: *Alexiad* 111.8.5–10 (Sewter-Frankopan, 97–99). Anna blends Skylitzes' story of Isaac's expedition and subsequent dedication of the church to St Thekla with Psellos' account of his Danube campaign in the *Chronographia*, VII, 70.1–22 (Sewter, 319–320).

33 As noted in the Introduction, Zonaras (xviii.7.1–9) states that the chroniclers give differing accounts of the emperor's illness and abdication. He first gives Psellos' account of Komnenos being taken ill with pleurisy while hunting (a diagnosis repeated by Bryennios, *Histoire*, 80), then turns to Skylitzes' version of events, which expands upon his source Attaleiates (*History*, 12.15) by adding details and moralising commentary.

34 Isaac's abdication and transfer of power to Constantine Doukas form the last act in the coup of 1057. It was the absence of a direct male heir (Isaac's only son Manuel had died prematurely) and his age (about fifty) that had made Isaac an acceptable choice among the contenders for the throne. This left room for the other hopefuls, first and foremost Constantine Doukas whose marriage to the Patriarch's niece virtually gave him right of first refusal should the throne become vacant.

thanks to God for the outcome, however, he put up a beautiful church dedicated to the protomartyr Thekla in the palace of Blachernai.³² |

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6. Leading the army on he made his way quickly to the Imperial City since he had heard rumours of a rebellion in the east. Finding upon his arrival that all such reports were false, he revived his spirits with hunting and other kinds of relaxation after heading up along the strait that stretches before the Imperial City. Around the time of the morning meal a bolt of lightning flashed over those parts, which go by the name of Neapolis, while a boar that appeared from some place or other drew the emperor's attention. In giving chase the emperor drove it all the way to the sea, and when the boar plunged into the water and was lost to sight the emperor was suddenly struck by lightning. He was thrown from his horse and went rolling on the ground, foaming at the mouth. He was placed in a small boat and brought safely to the palace although he was delirious and completely unaware of himself. After struggling for a few days to recover, he felt the end was near, and so to propitiate the Divinity he embraced repentance and willingly relinquished imperial power, which he had seized unlawfully.³³ After performing this virtuous act, he embraced the monastic life, amending his erstwhile renown and luxury with voluntary humility and moderation. What gave further proof that he sincerely and with his whole soul repented for the actions he had taken was that he appointed as emperor not his own brother John, nor his nephew Theodore Dokeianos, nor some man he could have married to his daughter, nor even some person or other related to him by blood,³⁴ but the *proedros* Constantine, whose ancestral family name was Doukas,³⁵ since he had been a co-conspirator, accomplice, and most generous financial backer in his bid to seize power.³⁶

7. Komnenos, now clothed in monk's garb, wondered for a time if he might recover from his illness, but he realised that he was fully in its grip, and growing ever more enfeebled he came to the Stoudios monastery.³⁷ The empress Aikaterine strongly concurred with him in this course of action, | proclaiming to him the joys of heaven that would be his as a result of his rejection of his earthly

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35 On the life and career of Constantine Doukas, see Polemis, *Doukai*, 28–34.

36 The removal of the Patriarch eroded Isaac's support in the capital and ruled out any successor from his family. Keroularios' dynastic ambitions were thus realised in the person of his niece, whom he had arranged to be married to Constantine Doukas to open a route to the throne: Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 70–71 (no. 82), 345; "Patriarches et empereurs," 5–6.

37 About a month after he abdicated, on December 25, 1059. The Stoudios monastery was a natural place of retirement since Isaac had spent much of his early life there along with his brother John: Bryennios, *Histoire*, 74–76.

ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἀπόλαυσιν ἐπαγγελλομένης αὐτῷ, βασιλεύσας μὲν ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς, ἐπιζήσας δὲ τούτων ἐλάττωνα τῷ μοναχικῷ, πᾶσαν ὑπακοὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ μονῇ ἡγουμενεύοντα ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὥς καὶ θυρωρὸς γενέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ὑπηρετήσαι διακονίαις διὰ πολλὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ μετριοφροσύνην καταδεξάμενος. Σωφρονέστατος δὲ εἰσάγαν γενέσθαι λέγεται. Στρατοπεδάρχῃ γὰρ ὄντι αὐτῷ νόσον ἐνσκήψαι νεφριτικὴν φασίν, ὥστε καὶ ἀπογνῶναι αὐτὸν τῆς ζωῆς διὰ τὸ παρέσει παντελεῖ καὶ ἀκινήσιᾳ κατασχεθῆναι. Τῶν δὲ ἱατρῶν, μετὰ τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι χρῆσασθαι καὶ ἐλεγχθῆναι ἀνηνύτοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, συμβουλευόντων μιγῆναι γυναικὶ αὐτὸς οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν. Εἰπόντων δέ, εἰ μὴ τούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσειε, πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἔχειν καυτήρι χρῆσασθαι, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀπαίδιᾳ κατασχεθῆναι δεινῇ καὶ ἀγονίᾳ, αὐτὸς «ἀρκοῦσί μοι» ἔφη «ὁ Μανουὴλ καὶ ἡ Μαρία, οἳ ἤδη μοι χάριτι Θεοῦ παῖδες γενόμενοι. Τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἄνευ ἔνεστι τυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ, σωφροσύνης δὲ χωρὶς οὐδεὶς τὸν Κύριον ὄψεται». Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Αἰκατερίνα καὶ ἡ ταύτης θυγάτηρ Μαρία τὴν τρίχα κειράμεναι διήγον ἐν τοῖς παλατίοις τοῦ Μυρελαίου, πᾶσαν ἄσκησιν μοναδικὴν μετερχόμεναι.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑγρότητος μεστὴ θεαθεῖσα ἡ τοῦτον κατέχουσα σορὸς ὑπόνοιαν παρέσχε πολλοῖς τιμωρίαν εἶναι τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ κολάσεως ἐνδειγμα τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύσαι πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ εἷς τε τὰς τῆς συγκλήτου στερήσεις τῶν ἔκπαλαι διδομένων αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν τῶν θείων ναῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σεμνείων ἀποστέρησιν ἣν, ὥς ἔφημεν, ἐποιήσατο, τὸ
 110 ἀπέριττον μὲν καὶ τὴν αὐτάρκειαν αὐτοῖς προνοούμενος, τῷ δημοσίῳ δὲ εἰσφέρων | μετρίαν παράκλησιν. Ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ ρεῦσαν ἀγιωσύνης ἔργον ἐτίθεντο ὡς καθαρῶς καὶ ἀδιστάκτως μεταγνόντος αὐτοῦ ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξε· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ἀμαρτίαν νικῶσαν τὴν φιланθρωπίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινῶ καὶ ἀποδέχομαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κωλυτικὴν εἶναι τῶν μελλόντων κακῶν, τὴν δὲ προτρεπτικὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ χείρονος πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον.

Τῆς δὲ βασιλίσσης Αἰκατερίνης, ἐν τῷ μοναχικῷ Ξένης μετονομασθείσης, ἐπετείως τελοῦσης τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως μνημόσυνα συγκαλούσης τε ἄλλους τέ τινες μοναχοὺς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ τοῦ Στουδίου μονῇ ἀσκουμένους σύμπαντας, ἐπειδὴ ἔμελλε τελευτᾶν ἐτέλει μὲν συνήθως καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐτήσια, διπλὰ δὲ πάντα τούτοις τὰ ἐκ τύπου διδόμενα παραθέσθαι προσέταξε. Τοῦ δὲ καθηγουμένου

38 But according to Psellos, *Chronographia*, VII, 81.1–82.19, Aikaterine strenuously opposed Isaac's decision to enter into monastic life since it would leave her and her daughter adrift (Sewter, 325–326). Bryennios has John Komnenos refusing the crown, whereupon Isaac turned to Constantine Doukas: *Histoire*, 78–82.

39 Skylitzes (following Attaleiates) takes a more balanced view of Isaac's policies than does Zonaras (xviii.4.11–13): "For this reason he earned the enmity of all, both the general populace and the Senate, as well as the military, for he did not leave even them alone but reduced their livelihood and, more than anyone else, that of the people living out their

kingdom.³⁸ He reigned two years and three months, whereas he lived on for less time than that as a monk. He showed complete obedience to the *hegoumenos* of the monastery, as he became its gate-keeper and served in other capacities with great equanimity and humility. It is said that he was exceedingly chaste. For the story goes that when he was *stratopedarches* he was afflicted by a kidney disease, so that he despaired of his life since he was overcome by a complete torpor and paralysis. After employing all other remedies and being blamed for trying ineffective cures, the doctors advised him to have intercourse with a woman, but he paid no heed. When they said that unless he tried this it would be necessary to resort to cautery which would leave him unable to father children and in danger of having no further issue, he replied, "Manuel and Maria, my children by the grace of God, are enough for me. For without these it is possible to attain the kingdom of God, but without chastity no one shall behold the Lord." The empress Aikaterine and her daughter Maria, their hair shorn, lived in the palace of Myrelaion once they had entered the ascetic life.

8. After the emperor died, the tomb enclosing him was seen to be full of moisture. It gave rise to the belief among many people that this was a punishment and a sign of divine retribution for the civil war, the great loss of life, and the actions he had taken upon becoming emperor in depriving the Senate of the benefits long given to it and in the expropriation of land from the sacred churches and holy monasteries which, as we have said, he carried out with the intention of making them frugal and self-sufficient while introducing a reasonable claim for the state.³⁹ | Others took the moisture as the work of sanctity, proof that he had truly and unequivocally made repentance for his acts. For there is no sin that can prevail over the mercy of God. I commend and accept the view of both sides, in that it served to discourage evil deeds in the future and to encourage a change from the worse to the better.

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9. The empress Aikaterine, who had changed her name to Xene upon becoming a nun, arranged the commemorations of the emperor and invited a few other monks and all those practising the monastic life in the Stoudios monastery. Seeing that she had not long to live, she held the annual commemorations as usual and in the customary way, but she gave instructions that the gifts stipulated on these occasions be doubled. The *hegoumenos* was at a loss to under-

days in monasteries. Nothing deterred him from these efforts, neither argument, nor fear, nor hatred, nor reproach. His arrogance thus rose ever higher and he acquired a swollen head." In this light, Magdalino's remarks on the lessons Alexios Komnenos drew from the failure of his uncle, particularly in working with rather than against the interests that Isaac had antagonised are well worth reading: *Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, 185–187.

διαπορήσαντος καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ διπλασιασμοῦ ἡσυχῇ προσελθόντος καὶ ἀπαιτήσαντος, «ὅτι τοι» ἔφη «ὦ τιμιώτατε, οὐκ οἶδα εἰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος ὑμῖν συνέσομαι, τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἴσως ἄλλως καὶ ὥς αὐτῷ βουλευτὸν οἰκονομήσαντος». Ὁ δὲ καὶ γέγονε· τετελευτήκει γάρ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἀξιώσασα ταφῆναι σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν τῷ κοιμητηρίῳ τῆς τοῦ Στουδίου μονῆς. Κατεκόσμησαν δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέροι, αὐτὴ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὸν πάνσεπτον τοῦ Προδρόμου ναόν, ᾧ καταλέγειν καὶ κατὰ λεπτόν διεξιέναι ἄθλος Ἡράκλειος.

Ἦν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἦθος στάσιμος, τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιεικής, τὴν γνώμην ὀξύς, τὴν χειρὰ δραστήριος, τὴν σύνεσιν ἔτοιμος, στρατηγικώτατος τὰ πολέμια, τοῖς ἐχθροῖς φοβερός, τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν εὐμενής, λόγοις προσκάμενος, καὶ ταῦτα μὴ τούτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐθὰς ὦν. Ἔλεγε δὲ δεῖν τὸν βασιλέα | φοβερόν μὲν εἶναι τοῖς ἔξω, εὐπρόσιτον δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις. Πάλιν ἔλεγε τοὺς τυραννιῶντας τῶν βασιλέων ἀπελευθέρους εἶναι σπεύδειν. Αἰτιώμενος δὲ ὅτι τετυράννηκε κατὰ τοῦ Μιχαήλ, «ὥκνουν» ἔλεγε «τῷ συνδούλῳ δουλεύειν καὶ τῶν εἰκότων μὴ τυγχάνειν». Ἐπισκώπτων δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἔλεγε δούλην μὲν εἶναι πρότερον, νῦν δὲ ἡλευθερώσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Πάλιν ἔλεγε τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις τοὺς συγγενεῖς τυγχάνειν σκόλοπα, τῷ δὲ τυραννοῦντι ὠφέλειαν. Ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Αἰκατερίνα μὴδὲν ξένον ἐπ' αὐτῇ γεγενῆσθαι βασιλείαν βασιλείας ἀλλάξαμένη.

stand this, and when he quietly approached her and asked the reason for the twofold increase, she said, "It is because, most honoured father, I do not know if I will be with you next year, and perhaps God has arranged my affairs differently in accordance with His will." And so it came to pass. She died, having requested in the meantime that she be buried among the monks in the cemetery of the Stoudios monastery. She and the emperor, both of them, had beautified the all-holy Church of the Prodomos. It would be a Herculean task to describe and go through this in detail.⁴⁰

10. The emperor was steadfast in character, mild in spirit, sharply opinionated, decisive in action, quick in apprehension, a superb commander in war, terrifying to the enemy, kindly disposed to his circle, and devoted to learning even though this had not been his habit from the beginning. He used to say that the emperor should be intimidating to outsiders, | but approachable to his familiars. On another occasion he remarked that the leaders of rebellions were striving to set themselves free from emperors. When chided for having revolted against Michael, he said "I was loath to serve a fellow slave without obtaining fair recompense." In a jest about his wife he said that where before she had been a slave, he had now emancipated her. Then again he used to say that relatives were a thorn in the side of other people but a boon to rebels. The empress Aikaterine said that nothing strange had befallen her in exchanging one kingdom for another.⁴¹

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40 ἃ καταλέγειν καὶ κατὰ λεπτὸν διεξιέναι ἄθλος Ἡράκλειος: echoing similar passages in the *Synopsis* where the chronicler likewise states that it would be too great a task to go through a topic in detail: 231.48 (Wortley, 223), 243.59–60 (Wortley, 234), 274.61–62 (Wortley, 263), 408.3 (Wortley, 383), 476.54 (Wortley, 444), 483.91–92 (Wortley, 450).

41 The Greek contains a pun on the empress's monastic name, Xene, from the adjective *xenos*, "strange" or "foreign"; as the daughter of the Bulgarian tzar Ivan Vladislav she was a foreigner who had exchanged a Bulgarian for a Byzantine kingdom, and an empress who had exchanged a temporal for an eternal kingdom.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κομνηνὸν Κωνσταντῖνος πρόεδρος ὁ Δούκας τῶν σκήπτρων ἐπιλαβόμενος ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ δίχα πραγμάτων καὶ ταραχῆς, λόγους ἐπεικειάς γέμοντας ἐδημηγόρησε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ δημοτικόν τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ κοινόν. Καὶ τὸ ἅπ' ἐκείνου τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνήρξατο ἀντιλήψεως τοῦ ἐπεικοῦς καὶ μετρίου κατ' οὐδὲν ἀφιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τρόποις αὐτοῦ ἐξεχόμενος. Ἐτίμησε δὲ τῶν τε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τοῦ δήμου πολλούς. Ἀνώρθωσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἤδη ἐπὶ τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ ἐκπεπτωκότας τῶν οἰκείων τιμῶν· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐκείνος παγανώσας ἀδόξους ἐξ ἐνδόξων καὶ ἀτίμους ἐξ ἐντίμων ἀπέδειξεν. Ἐπιστάσης δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου μνήμης κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἄπεισιν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰ Μάγγανα αἰδοῖ τοῦ μάρτυρος. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ τελεσθῆναι τὴν ἐορτὴν τινὲς τῶν κακοήθων καὶ δολερῶν βουλὴν πονηρὰν ἐξαρτύσαντες τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπεβούλευσαν μὲν, ἤνυσαν δὲ οὐδέν, Θεοῦ τὸν σύλλογον καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ ἄθεον διαλυσσάμενου σκαιώρημα. Ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς γνώμη τῷ βυθῷ παραδοθῆναι αὐτὸν παγγενεὶ ἅτε διὰ θαλάσσης πρὸς τὸ παλάτιον ἀποπλεῖν μέλλοντα. Ζητήσεως δὲ καὶ ἐρεῦνης γενομένης περὶ τοῦ συμβάντος πολλῆς πολλοὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τηνικαῦτα ἑπαρχος ἐάλωσαν ὥς ἐπίβουλοι καὶ καθοσιώσεως αἰτία ὑπέπεσον, τῶν οἰκείων στερηθέντες κτήσεων καὶ πάσης τῆς περιουσίας αὐτῶν.



FIGURE 7 Seal of the emperor Constantine x Doukas.

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II The Reign of Constantine x Doukas (23 November 1059–23 May 1067)

1. Upon succeeding Komnenos the *proedros* Constantine Doukas took the sceptre without bloodshed and with no commotion or disturbance, and he addressed the Senate and common people of the city in words filled with moderation. From the time that he took up the management of public affairs he in no way diverged from a reasonable and measured course but stood out in all his ways. He granted titles to many members of both the Senate and the common people. He also restored those who had earlier been deprived of their titles during the reign of Komnenos, for the latter had reduced many officials to the status of commoner and left them without their glory and honour. When the day for commemorating the great martyr St George came,⁴² the emperor, in keeping with the established custom, departed for the Mangana to venerate the martyr. After the day's rituals had been concluded, a number of evil-minded and treacherous conspirators attempted to carry out a wicked plot which they had formed.⁴³ They achieved nothing, however, since God broke up the cabal and their criminal, impious scheme. For their plan was to throw him into the depths with his whole family just as he was about to make his way by sea back to the palace. After considerable inquiry and investigation into this incident, many high-ranking officials and even the man who was at that time the Eparch of the City were arrested as conspirators and arraigned on the charge of treason. They were deprived of their properties and of all their possessions besides.⁴⁴

42 April 23 1060.

43 Cf. Attaleiates, *History*, 13.4–8, and Zonaras, XVIII.8.3–11 (who likewise draws on Attaleiates but at greater length than Skylitzes). They outline the plot as follows. Knowing that the emperor would be at the Mangana, the conspirators contrived to lure him back to the palace with the report of a disturbance in the City. They had in the meantime taken control of the imperial galley, but in his haste the emperor instead boarded a small skiff for the journey; the conspirators then set out at speed to ram and sink the skiff but were put off from doing so by the warning shouts of the crew manning the emperor's vessel.

44 It is not known who the new emperor would have been. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 71 (no. 83), 345 names the *epi tôn deeseôn* Nicholas Cheilas as one of the leaders of this plot. He notes that it may have been their aim to reinstate Isaac Komnenos who was still alive at this time and that Constantine's surprising lenience towards the ringleaders may be attributable to the fragility of his position until Isaac's death towards the end of 1060. Bryennios notes Constantine's solicitude towards Isaac and his family during the last year of his life: *Histoire*, 84.

112 Ἐπόθησε δὲ καὶ ἡγάπησε διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τε τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων ἐπαύξησιν καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν δικῶν τὴν ἀκρόασιν, κὰν τούτοις τὴν μείζονα φροντίδα κατεκένου τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ἄλλων ἦττον ἐχόμενος, στρατηγικῶν φημι πλεονεκτημάτων καὶ στρατιωτικῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων. Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ συκοφαντικαῖς ἐπηρεαῖς καὶ σοφιστικαῖς μεθόδοις καὶ δικανικῶν προβλημάτων ἐσμῶ καὶ σεκρετικῶν ζητημάτων ἐπιποκαῖς τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν ἐκλονεῖτο καὶ ἐκραδαίνετο, ὥς καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρατευομένους τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν στρατείαν μεταθέντας συνηγόρους καὶ νομικῶν προβλημάτων καὶ ζητημάτων γενέσθαι ἐραστάς, μακρὰν χαίρειν εἰπόντας ἐνυαλίῳ τε ἡχῇ καὶ πολεμικῇ ὀρχήσει καὶ περιδινήσει ἀγχιστρόφῳ. Εὐσεβῆς δὲ ὢν, εἶπερ τις ἕτερος, καὶ φιλομόναχος φιλόπτωχός τε καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἦττον κολαστικός, πρὸς ἄλλο τι ἀμβλὺς ἐτύγχανε καὶ νωθρός, φειδωλὸς δὲ εἰσάγαν καὶ ποριστικός καὶ τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων αὐξητικός. Ἐνεξουσίαζε δὲ καὶ ταῖς κρίσεσι καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὰς ὑπῆλλαττε διὰ τὴν τῶν προσώπων ποιότητα, βαρὺς δεικνύμενος τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἀφόρητος.

Προσκειμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς τοιούτοις διηνεκῶς, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτικῶν ἡμεληκότος καὶ καταρραθυμήσαντος, τὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ ἐν τοῖς τέρμασι τῶν μερῶν τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐφέροντό τε καὶ ἤγοντο καὶ ἐληίζοντο, καὶ διεφθείροντο ἅπαντα τῇ τε τῶν Τούρκων ἐπιδρομῇ καὶ κατισχύσει καὶ τῇ βιαίᾳ ὑποχωρήσει καὶ δειματώσει τῶν ἡμελημένων στρατιωτῶν· συνεχεῖς γὰρ ὑπῆρχον ἐκδρομαὶ καὶ λεηλασίαι συχναί, ἀφανιζομένου τοῦ προστυχόντος παντός. Διὸ καὶ ἡ εὐδαίμων χώρα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἡπείρωτο παντελῶς καὶ ἡδᾶφιστο, ἥδη προκατειργασμένη καὶ ἡσθενηκυῖα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐκλείπουσά τε καὶ φθίνουσα. Συμμετελάμβανον δὲ τοῦ δεινοῦ 113 καὶ ὅσαι αὐτῇ παρέκειντο, Μεσσοποταμία | τε καὶ Χαλδία, πρὸς δὲ Μελιτηνὴ καὶ

45 Zonaras (xviii.8.18–20) magnifies this criticism: “Stingy and parsimonious as he was, he took it upon himself not to engage the foreign peoples in battle but to win them over with gifts and other favours and to reconcile them to the Roman empire. From this he sought two benefits for himself, first, not to spend more on military expeditions, and second, to live an untroubled life and devote his time for the most part to the collection of revenues.”

46 There is evidence that Constantine’s heavy taxation caused unrest among his subjects. Kekaumenos tells the story of a tax revolt in Larissa (in the theme of Hellas) in 1066–1067 which was quelled only when the emperor sent a solemn oath promising to remit the taxes he had imposed and not to exact punishments: *Sovety i rasskazy*, 252.23–266.3, esp. 260.11–23.

47 βαρὺς δεικνύμενος τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἀφόρητος: Skylitzes tempers his otherwise harsh assessment of Constantine x (condensed from Attaleiates, *History* 13, 9–10); this is also a rare observation drawn from his own experience. The term *dynatos*, which he will have encountered in his legal career, echoes the usage of the tenth-century legislation protecting the “poor” from the “powerful” and shows that these laws were still in force a century later. See Magdalino, “Deux précisions,” and Howard-Johnston, “Procès aristocratiques,”

2. Far more than anything else the emperor yearned and desired to increase state revenues and to hear private law cases, even if this led him to expend greater care on these matters while having less to do with other imperial duties, by which I mean maintaining military superiority and the fighting prowess of our soldiers.⁴⁵ For this reason the Roman world was afflicted and shaken by duplicitous intrigues, shrewd manoeuvring, a swarm of judicial proceedings, and official inquiries, with the result that the soldiers themselves set aside their weapons and terms of service and became parties to legal proceedings and eager participants in these machinations, taking a long leave of battle, the din and swirl of war, and its sudden ebb and flow. If ever there was a pious man, it was the emperor, a patron of monks and a champion of the poor who was not one to inflict corporal punishments; but with regard to other matters he was dull-witted and indolent, exceedingly tight-fisted and bent on amassing and increasing state revenues.⁴⁶ He exerted his authority in legal decisions and often altered these according to the status of the persons involved, showing himself to be severe and intractable towards the powerful.⁴⁷ 112

3. While devoting himself continually to such matters, he neglected and ignored military affairs. Consequently, the eastern regions, particularly those along the borders of the Roman provinces, were plundered and ravaged and despoiled. All these regions were devastated by the raids and violence of the Turks and as a result of the forced withdrawal and the cowering of our neglected armies. For there were constant incursions and recurrent raids, and everything the raiders came across was carried off. This is why the bounteous land of Iberia was left completely ransacked and destroyed.⁴⁸ Already subdued and weakened, it gradually declined and wasted away. The neighbouring regions shared this terrible fate—Mesopotamia | and Chaldia, as well 113

489–490. Bryennios likewise commends the emperor's stance against the oppressors on behalf of the oppressed: *Histoire*, 82–84.

48 Iberia was Byzantine province consisting of territories lying between Lake Van and the southeastern shore of the Black Sea. In an act harshly criticised (and somewhat misrepresented) by Skylitzes (*Synopsis* 476.44–54; Wortley, 444) Constantine ix Monomachos, to pay for his aforementioned St George of Mangana, commuted the military service rendered by the armies stationed in Iberia to a cash tax, thereby denuding the region of soldiers and leaving it defenceless before the Seljuk invaders. But as Kaldellis points out (*Streams of Gold*, 208–213), this fiscalisation of military service was common in the eleventh century and in this case allowed Monomachos to hire foreign mercenaries whose presence in the east is amply attested.

Κολώνεια καὶ τὰ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ συγκείμενα ποταμῷ, ἀλλὰ μὴν τό τε Ἀρμενιακὸν καὶ τὸ Βαασπρακάν. Καὶ εἰ μὴ πολλάκις στρατεύμασιν, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ φήμαις μόναις δυνάμεων, ἀνείργοντο τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τινες ἀρχηγοὶ τούτων, Χωροσάν τις σελάριος καὶ Σαμούχ, ἀγαθὴν τινὶ τύχῃ τὴν ἥτταν συμβαλόντες ἐκκληρώσαντο, καὶν μέχρι Γαλατίας καὶ Ὀνωριάδος καὶ αὐτῆς Φρυγίας τὸ ἀντίπαλον περιέδραμεν. Ἐστέλλετο μὲν γὰρ στρατιωτικόν, ψιλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄοπλον καὶ γυμνόν, τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπελαυνομένων ἐκάστοτε τῆς στρατείας τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὀψωνίων ἔνεκα καὶ τῶν μειζόνων βαθμῶν. Ἄ καὶ καταγνώσεως ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἦν, μηδενὸς γενναίου καὶ ἀξιολόγου πραττομένου διὰ τοῦτο. Συνέβαινε δὲ ἐκ τούτου τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους ταπεινοῦσθαι καὶ κατεπτηχέσθαι, τοὺς βαρβάρους δὲ φυσᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἐπαίρεσθαι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς προσρήγνυσθαι πεποιθήσεως.

“Ὅτε δὴ καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἀνίον ἀποστέλλεται δοῦξ Ἀρμένιός τις, Παγκράτιος τοῦνομα, ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὑποσχόμενος τὰ ἐκεῖσε στρατεύματα διοικεῖν. Τοῦ δὲ σουλτάνου παριόντος, μὴ μέντοι γε πημαινομένου τὴν χώραν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν, τῶν περὶ τὸν Παγκράτιον ἐξιόντες τινὲς τὴν οὐραγίαν τοῦ σουλτανικοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐσίνοντο καὶ κατέκαινον. Ἐφ’ οἷς δὴ καὶ δυσθυμήσας ὁ σουλτάνος ἀφίησι τοῦ πρόσω ἵεναι. Πρὸς τὸ Ἀνίον δὲ ἀνθυπέστρεψε καὶ δι’ ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν αὐτό τε τὸ Ἀνίον καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸ πάντα περιποιησάμενος στρατῷ τε ὀχυρώσας καὶ στρατηγοῖς ἀξιολόγοις τὰ ἐκεῖσε παραδούς, τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ χώρας ἀπεστέρησεν. Εἶχε μὲν οὖν οὕτω ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον σκυλμὸν τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ περιήγοντο κατὰ τε τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν ἀνατολήν.

Ἐν δὲ τῇ δύσει κατὰ τὴν τρίτην ἰνδικτιῶνα, ἀρχόντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον πόλεων τοῦ μαγίστρου Βασιλείου τοῦ Ἀποκάπη καὶ τοῦ | μαγίστρου Νικηφόρου τοῦ Βοτανειά-

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49 The “Armenian” themes took their name from the mainly Armenian soldier-settlers installed in the small territories created along the eastern frontier during the tenth century. Vaasprakan was a district embracing the lands to the east of Lake Van.

50 Tsolakes read Χωροσάν τις σελάριος καὶ Σαμούχ but the variants Χωροσάντης σαλάριος or Χωροσαλάριος may be preferable. The reference to the Turkish marauder Samouch recalls the account of his raids through the eastern provinces in the 1050s: *Synopsis*, 484.26 ff., 485.55 ff. (Wortley, 451–453, 457). On his identity (the name has several variations) and activities, see Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 104–109.

51 The Byzantine army appears to have reached a low point during the reign of Constantine X. It is no accident that Bryennios says nothing about his military policy, and yet, as its record in the years before and after Constantine’s reign shows, the army was still capable of fighting effectively when well led and maintained. The picture is not necessarily as bleak as the chroniclers tend to paint it; for important correctives, see Cheynet, “La politique militaire,” and Haldon, “Approaches to an alternative military history.”

as Melitene and Koloneia, the lands along the Euphrates river, and even the Armenian themes and Vaasprakan.⁴⁹ If the hordes of barbarians had not been checked many a time by our armies, sometimes by mere reports of our forces, and if by some stroke of luck certain of their leaders, a Chorosanian commander and Samouch,⁵⁰ had not been dealt a defeat in battle, the adversary would have reached as far as Galatia and Honorias and Phrygia itself. An army would be sent out, inadequately equipped, poorly armed and armoured, since on each occasion the better soldiers had been struck off service owing to the high cost of their salaries and their superior quality.⁵¹ These measures were not above reproach, since it was owing to them that nothing noble or worthy of record was accomplished. It therefore came to pass that the Romans were humbled and cringed in fear, whereas the barbarians became haughty and aroused and made their onslaughts with great confidence.⁵²

4. One time an Armenian *doux*, by the name of Pankratios,⁵³ was despatched to Ani on the strength of his assurance that he would provision the forces there from the local resources. When the sultan was passing through,⁵⁴ though without doing any harm to Roman territory, a number of Pankratios' men ventured out and attacked the rear of the sultan's army, inflicting many casualties. Angered at these actions, the sultan interrupted his march and wheeled back on Ani. Within a few days he had made Ani itself and all the surrounding areas his own. He secured his hold on the place with an army and put its administration in the hands of worthy commanders, and he deprived the Roman Empire of both the town and the area around it. That was how matters stood, and the Roman territories in Asia and throughout the entire East were cast into disarray.

5. In the West, during the third indiction⁵⁵ when the governors of the cities along the Danube were the *magistros* Basil Apokapes | and the *magistros* Nike-

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52 There are echoes here of a famous passage that Skylitzes incorporated into his account of the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos: "There is one thing that needs saying and I will say it: that it was from the time of this emperor and because of his prodigality and pretentiousness that the fortunes of the Romans began to waste away. From that time until now they have regressed into an all-encompassing debility." *Synopsis* 476.55–58 (Wortley, 444).

53 Identified as Baghrat Vxkac'i, also attested as *magistros* and *katepano* of the East; on the loss of Ani under his watch (in 1064), see Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 113–114.

54 The sultan Alp Arslan.

55 September 1065.



FIGURE 8A Seal of Panaretos, “*kensor* and judge of the Armenian themes” (ca. 1050). This exceptional specimen combines rich iconography with a verse inscription identifying the owner and the judicial offices he held. On the obverse, a standing figure, St Eustratios, offers a blessing; in the quarters, counter-clockwise from the upper left, are medallions portraying St Auxentios, St Mardarios, St Eugenios, and St Orestes. As do the other seals from the eastern frontiers, this one shows the attempt in the eleventh century to centralise the military, judicial, and financial administration of the small themes that proliferated as the Byzantines reconquered the east during the tenth century.

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FIGURE 8B Seal of Basil Machetares, *vestes*, judge, and *katepano* of Melitene and Lykandos (ca. 1065). Known principally from his seals, Basil was among the many Armenians in Byzantine service whose careers included military and judicial duties in the territories heavily populated by (often heterodox) Armenian and Syrian settlers during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

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FIGURE 8C Seal of Michael Kataphloros, imperial *kourator* of Mantzikert and Inner Iberia (ca. 1030). Given the paucity of written sources, seals such as this one supply fragmentary but nonetheless valuable evidence for the administration of the territories on the far edge of the Byzantine realm—in this case, attesting to the presence of an official appointed to supervise the use and revenues of the imperial lands north and east of Lake Van.

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FIGURE 8D Seal of Constantine *proedros* and judge, “whose duty it is to supervise the frontier dwellers and the highways” (ca. 1078–1086). This seal, with its unique and well crafted verse inscription, was struck by one of the last officials (*logothetes* of the *Drome*, likely appointed by Nikephoros III Botaneiates after the defection of Nikephoritzes) to maintain some semblance of Byzantine authority in the empire’s evaporating eastern possessions.

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του, τὸ τῶν Οὐζῶν ἔθνος, γένος δὲ καὶ οὗτοι σκυθικὸν καὶ τῶν Πατζινάκων εὐγενέστερον καὶ πολυπληθέστερον, παγγενεὶ μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀποσκευῆς τὸν Ἰστρον περαιωθὲν ξύλοις μακροῖς καὶ λέμβοις αὐτοπρέμνοις καὶ βύρσαις, τοὺς διακωλύοντας τὴν αὐτῶν περαίωσιν στρατιώτας, Βουλγάρους τέ φημι καὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ λοιποὺς τοὺς ὄντας σὺν αὐτοῖς, κατηγωνίσαντο αἰφνιδίως καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν, τὸν τε Ἀποκάπην Βασίλειον καὶ τὸν Βοτανειάτην Νικηφόρον, αἰχμαλώτους ἀπήγαγον καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἰστρον πᾶσαν ἐπλήρωσαν ὑπαιθρον. Συνεποσοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος, ὡς οἱ εἰδότες διεβεβαιοῦντο, εἰς ἐξήκοντα μυριάδας μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν καὶ πολεμιστῶν. Μοῖρα δὲ τις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐλαχίστη, τούτων ἀποτμηθεῖσα, ἄχρι Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ αὐτῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰσήρρισε καὶ πᾶν τὸ προστυχὸν κατελυμήνατο καὶ ἐκεράισε καὶ λείαν ἤλασεν οὐκ ἀριθμητὴν. Χειμῶνι δὲ περιπεπτωκότες πολλῷ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους ὑπέστρεφον, οὐ μόνον τὰ ἀλλότρια, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σχεδὸν ἀπέβαλον ἅπαντα καὶ δυστυχῶς εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐπανέζευξαν.

115 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πυνθανόμενος περὶ τοῦ πληθυσμοῦ ἡσχαλλε μὲν καὶ ἡδημόνει, στρατιὰν δὲ ἀθροῖσαι καὶ δυνάμεις ἀξιωμαχοὺς ἀφεῖναι κατ' αὐτῶν ὀκνηρότερος ἦν, ὡς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον τῶν ἀναλωμάτων φειδοῖ—ἦν γάρ, ὡς ἔφημεν, φιλοχρήματος καὶ τὸν ὀβολὸν παντὸς προτιμῶν—ὡς δ' ἔνιοι, μὴ ἀποθαρρῶν πρὸς τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀπρόσμαχον τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ πλῆθος διισχυρίζοντο, καὶ ἀμήχανος ἐδόκει πᾶσιν ἡ λύτρωσις καὶ μετοικίαν ἤδη οἱ πλείους ἐβουλεύοντο. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πρεσβεῖαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐθνάρχας | αὐτῶν ἐσταλκῶς ἐπειράτο ὡς οἶόν τε παρενεγκεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ καταστειλαί, πολλὰ τούτοις ἀποστείλας ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ θελκτήρια· χαρίσμασι γὰρ ἐνίοις αὐτῶν ἀδροῖς ἐδεξιώσατο. Μέγιστον δὲ τὸ ἔθνος ὃν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς πορισμὸν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὁσημέραι ἐπιρρηγνύμενον ἐν πολλοῖς μέρεσι τὴν Βουλγαρίαν, ἥδη δὲ τὴν τε Θράκην καὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν συνέθλιβε. Μὴ φέρων δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ λεγόμενον—ἀνέδην γὰρ παρὰ πάντων ὡς φειδωλὸς καὶ γλίσχρος διεσύρετο καὶ διεβάλλετο—ἔξιει τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ περὶ τὸν τόπον ὃς Χοιροβάκχοι καλεῖται τὴν σκηνὴν πήγνυσιν, οὐ πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα στρατιωτῶν ἐπαγόμενος

56 What rank and territory each of the Byzantine commanders held along the Danube is a matter of some debate. The most likely explanation is that Basil Apokapes had been sent from the east with a detachment of Armenian soldiers to render assistance to Botaneiates, who at this time may have been *doux* of Paradounavon (also known as Paristrion, the toponym used in section VI.19 below) after serving as *doux* of Thessalonike in the early 1060s. The latest synthesis of Botaneiates' career is found in Karagiorgou, "On the way to the throne"; for Apokapes' remarkable career in east and west, see Lemerle, *Cinq études*, 49–53, and Grünbart, "Die Familie Apokapes." On the invasion of the Uzes, see Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization*, 69–77, 129–131.

57 Skylitzes took this vastly inflated figure (ὕπερ ἐξήκοντα χιλιάδας) from Attaleiates (*History*, 14.7), whereas Zonaras (xviii.9.4) gives a more realistic estimate of over 60,000 (ἐξήκοντα μυριάδας).

phoros Botaneiates,⁵⁶ the nation of the Uzes (they are a Scythian people, of better stock than the Patzinaks and far more populous) crossed the Danube *en masse* with all their possessions in long dugouts and on rafts fashioned from stalks and hides. In a sudden attack they overwhelmed the soldiers attempting to prevent their crossing (by whom I mean the Bulgarians and Romans and the rest of their comrades), took their leaders, Basil Apokapes and Nikephoros Botaneiates, into captivity, and overran the entire stretch of territory along the Danube. For this nation, as those in a position to know confirmed, was reckoned to number as many as six hundred thousand fighting men and warriors.⁵⁷ By no means the smallest contingent of them, detached from the main body, penetrated as far as Thessalonike and the theme of Hellas itself and devastated or plundered everything in their path and carried off countless spoils. They were caught in a severe storm on the return journey to their own people and lost not only what they had looted from others but also nearly all their own possessions, and in this miserable condition they made their way back to their encampment.

6. Although the emperor was distressed and deeply concerned when he learned of this teeming multitude, he was rather reluctant to assemble an army and send battleworthy forces against these people. Some say that he baulked at the expense—for he did love money, as we have mentioned, and prized coin above all else⁵⁸—but others said that he did not have the courage to meet so strong a force in battle. All were firm in their view that the enemy horde was irresistible, all thought salvation impossible, and most were already making arrangements to resettle elsewhere. The emperor despatched an embassy to their chieftains | and tried to divert and stall them to the extent that he could. He also made many soothing and flattering approaches⁵⁹ to them and received a few of them with special favours. But this nation was enormous in number and therefore spilled over into many parts of Bulgaria as it foraged for provisions each and every day. It had already wrung Thrace and Macedonia to the last drop. Unable to bear hearing what was on the lips of all—for he was openly being castigated and mocked as a money-grubbing miser—the emperor set out from the Imperial City and pitched camp in the area which is called Choirobacchoi. He took no more than a hundred and fifty soldiers with him,

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58 Zonaras (xviii.9.5–6) is even more scathing: “These developments disheartened the emperor, who hesitated to marshal his forces and delayed, lest he part ways with a penny.”

59 πολλά ... ἐπαγωγὰ καὶ θελκτήρια: cf. *Synopsis*, 81.94 and 317.49 (Wortley, 82 and 301).

μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Ὅθεν καὶ πολλοῖς θαυμάζειν ἐπήει ὅπως μετὰ τοσούτων ἀνδραρίων πρὸς τοσαύτην πληθὺν ἀπεδειλίασεν. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ παρασκευῇ ὄντος αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ συναγωγῆς βουλευομένου στρατοῦ δρομαῖοι προσελθόντες τινὲς ἐδήλουν τῷ βασιλεῖ τήν τε τῶν ἡγεμόνων λύτρωσιν καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους παντὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, φράζοντες ὡς οἱ μὲν ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν ἐμβάντες σκάφεσι τὸν Ἴστρον διαβεβήκασιν, τὸ δὲ περιλειφθὲν πλῆθος λιμῷ τε καὶ λοιμῷ τοῖς τε παρακειμένοις Βουλγάροις καὶ Πατζινάκοις καταπολεμηθέντες ἄρδην ἀπώλonton.

116 Θεοῦ τὸ πᾶν ἐργασασμένου. Λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἀπογνοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ πάντων, νηστείαν παραγγείλας τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ ἑαυτῷ, λιτανεῖαν ἐκτενή ἐποίησατο, αὐτὸς πεζὸς συμπορευόμενος μετὰ δακρύων καὶ συντετριμμένης καρδίας, καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν ἐφάνη τοῖς ἐν Τζουρουλῷ ἐσκηνωμένοις τῶν Οὐζῶν πλῆθος στρατιωτικὸν ἐπιστὰν ἐναέριον καὶ διὰ ττον σὺν σπουδῇ βέλη ἀφίεναι κατ' αὐτῶν συνεχῇ, ὥστε μηδένα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπομεῖναι ἄτρωτον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῷ Θεῷ τε καὶ τῇ Θεοτόκῃ θύσας τὰ χαριστήρια εὐθὺς τῆς βασιλίδος πεπόρευτο. Εὗρε δὲ καὶ ταύτην | ἐκπλήξεως γέμουσαν καὶ σώστρα τῷ Θεῷ ἐπιθύουσαν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες ἀπλῶς θεοσημίαν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐλογίζοντο καὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖα τὸ πᾶν ἀνέτίθεσαν, ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ῥοπῇ καὶ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβεῖα τὸ θεῖον ἐπικλινόμενον.

Προσῆλθον δὲ τούτων τινὲς μετὰ τὸν τοιοῦτον ὄλεθρον τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ χώραν λαβόντες δημοσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μακεδονικῆς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐφρόνησαν καὶ σύμμαχοι καὶ ὑπήκοοι τούτων μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο γεγόνασιν καὶ ἀξιωματῶν συγκλητικῶν καὶ λαμπρῶν ἡξιώθησαν. Ἦν δὲ τὸ τῆνικαὐτα ἔτος μὲν ἕκτον βασιλεύοντι τῷ Δούκῃ, ἰνδικτιῶν γ', ἐν τῷ ,ςφογ' ἔτει τῆς κοσμικῆς κτίσεως.

Πρὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἔτους κατὰ τὸν Σεπτέμβριον μῆνα τῆς δευτέρας ἐπινεμήσεως, εἰκοστὴν τρίτην ἄγοντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνός, περὶ δευτέραν νυκτὸς φυλακὴν σεισμὸς ἐξαισίος γέγονε τῶν πώποτε γενομένων ἐκπληκτικώτερος ἐκ τῶν ἐσπερίων μερῶν ἀρξάμενος. Τοσοῦτος δὲ ἦν τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς καὶ οἰκίας ἀνατρέψαι πολλὰς καὶ ναοὺς καὶ κίονας. Τὰ ὅμοια δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις πεπόνθασι Ῥαιδιστός τε καὶ Πάνιον καὶ τὸ Μυριόφυτον, ὡς καὶ μέρη τειχῶν ἀνατραπῆναι ἄχρις ὑποβάθρας αὐτῆς καὶ πλείστας

60 The text reads ἀπεδειλίασεν but the variant ἀπεθάρρησεν recorded in the apparatus makes more sense.

61 The aforementioned Apokapes and Botaneiates.

62 Similar tales of celestial powers intervening in battles appear in the *Synopsis*, 308.10–309.25 (Wortley, 292) and 413.20–414.26 (Wortley, 388).

63 This moralising conclusion is Skylitzes' addition to the account given by Attaleiates (*History*, 14.10). It may reveal the influence of the words addressed to Alexios I Komnenos by the Patriarch of Antioch John Oxiteis in 1091. After reproaching the emperor for his rapacious taxation and expropriations in a time of military crisis, Oxiteis reminded Alexios of his recent predecessor Constantine x Doukas, whose faith in God, expressed through his tears and supplication, had brought deliverance from the Hunnic hordes (i.e. the Uzes).

whence it struck many people as extraordinary that he was bold enough⁶⁰ to face so vast a horde with so pitiful a company of men. While he was in a such a state of preparation and making plans to assemble an army, some messengers arrived and informed the emperor that the commanders⁶¹ were free and that the whole nation of the Uzes had ceased to exist. They said that the chieftains had crossed the Danube by boat, whereas the remaining lot had perished utterly from hunger and disease or had been worn down in battle by the neighbouring Bulgarians and Patzinaks.

7. It was all the work of God. Word has it that in complete despair the emperor had ordered a fast for the army and himself, and held the Great Litany during which he himself made a procession on foot with tears and a contrite heart; and on the day when a horde of Uzes appeared before the soldiers encamped at Tzouroulon, there came rushing through the air an army that with alacrity discharged streams of arrows at them, so that not a man among them was left unhit.⁶² After giving thanks to God and the Mother of God, the emperor at once set off for the Imperial City which he found | brimming with amazement and offering thanks to God for its deliverance. All interpreted what had happened as a sign from God, plain and simple, and everyone attributed the whole thing to the emperor's reverence towards the Divinity—the Divinity that leans towards the ruler's virtue and his inclination and piety towards the Divinity.⁶³

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8. In the wake of this catastrophe a number of these people approached the emperor, and after accepting crown land in the theme of Macedonia they sided with the Romans and have been allies and subjects down to the present time. They were also honoured with illustrious offices of senatorial rank. The year at that time was the sixth of Doukas' reign, the third indiction in the 6,573rd year since the creation of the world.⁶⁴

9. The year before, in the month of September, in the second indiction, on the twenty-third day of that month,⁶⁵ during the second watch of the night, there was a tremendous earthquake, more terrible than any that had ever occurred before, that began in the western regions. So great was its magnitude that it brought down many houses and churches and columns. Raideustos and Panion and Myriophyton suffered effects similar to the ones mentioned, as sections of the walls were brought down to the very foundation, as were many

Since Oxeites spoke in the palace, before the highly ranked officials summoned there by Alexios, it is entirely possible that Skylitzes was present. See Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite," 5–6, 40–41.

64 The year 1065.

65 September 23, 1063.

οίκιας καὶ φόνον γενέσθαι πολύν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ Κύζικος, ὁπότε καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἑλλη-
νικὸν ἱερὸν κατεσείσθη καὶ τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει κατέπεσε, μέγιστον ὃν χρῆμα πρὸς θέαν
δι' ὀχυρότητα καὶ λίθου τοῦ καλλίστου τε καὶ μεγίστου ἀρμονίαν καὶ ἀνοικοδομὴν καὶ
ὑψους καὶ μεγέθους διάρκειαν. Καὶ μέχρι δὲ δύο ἐνιαυτῶν ἔκτοτε σποράδες ἐπεφοίτων
σεισμοὶ μηδαμῇ τοῖς ἐξωροτέροις μνημονευόμενοι. Τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ ἡ Νίκαια πέπονθε·
κατεσείσθησαν γὰρ καὶ ταύτης ὅτε ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῆς ἀγίας Σοφίας ναὸς καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος
117 τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων σηκός, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη δὲ σὺν τοῖς | πολιτικοῖς οἰκήμασι καταπεπτῶ-
κασιν, ὅτε δὴ καὶ τὰ τοῦ τρόμου κατέληξε τέλος. Ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ εἰσπραξίς μὲν
ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ χόλος θεῖος ἐξ ἅπαντος, ἡνίττοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ῥηθέντος ἔθνους
ἐπέλευσιν καὶ κατάλυσιν. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς θεοσημίαις οὐ τὸ ἐνεστὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τι
μέλλον προτεθεώρηται καὶ προσημαίνεται.

Καὶ Μαῖω δὲ μηνὶ τῆς δ' ἰνδικτιώνος ἐφάνη κομήτης κατόπιν τοῦ ἡλίου δύνοντος
τὸ μέγεθος σεληναῖον φέρων, ὅταν ἦδε πλησιφαῆς γένηται. Καὶ ἐώκει μὲν τηνικαῦτα
ἐκπέμπειν καπνὸν καὶ ὀμίχλην, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἤρξατο παραδεικνύειν βοστρύχους
τινάς, καὶ ὅσον οὗτοι προεπετάννυντο τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀστέρος ὑπέλγηεν. Ἀπέτεινε
δὲ τὰς ἀκτῖνας ὡς πρὸς ἑῶαν καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην προήρχετο καὶ ἦν ἐπικρατῶν ἄχρις
ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

Κωνσταντίνου δὲ τοῦ πατριάρχου θανόντος Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς ὁ ἐπὶ κλην Ξιφιλῖνος
προχειρίζεται, ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος μὲν ὠρμημένος, ἀνὴρ δὲ σοφὸς καὶ παιδεύσεως εἰς
ἄκρον ἐληλακῶς κὰν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς περίβλεπτος γεγονῶς καὶ ἀρετῆς εὐφρόνως ἐπι-
μελούμενος, ὥστε ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς εὐημερίας καὶ τῆς ἡλικίας τὴν μοναχικὴν πολιτείαν



FIGURE 9 Seal of John Xiphilinos, "archbishop of Constantinople the New Rome and ecumenical Patriarch".

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houses, and there was great loss of life. Then there is the case of Kyzikos, where the Greek temple was shaken and fell down for the most part. It had been a most impressive sight to behold because of its solid construction, the arrangement and placement of the very large and beautiful stone blocks, and the proportion of its height and size. For two years thereafter earthquakes recurred from time to time, something that not even the very old could recall happening. Nicaea suffered the same effects. The church built in the name of the Holy Wisdom and the shrine named for the Holy Fathers were shaken and the walls collapsed, | along with many private dwellings. Then the quakes finally came to an end. They were the price exacted for our sins and doubtless an expression of divine wrath, and they foreshadowed the arrival and destruction of the nation of which we spoke above. For in God's signs not only the present but also the future can be discerned and foretold.⁶⁶

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10. In the month of May, in the fourth indiction,⁶⁷ a comet appeared after sunset. It was the size of the full moon. It seemed at first to be giving out smoke and mist, and on the following night it began to display a few tendrils. The longer they extended the more the comet's size diminished. It stretched its rays to the east, the direction in which it was heading, and it lasted for forty days.

11. Upon the death of the Patriarch Constantine,⁶⁸ the monk John, surnamed Xiphilinos, was appointed. Originally from Trebizond, he was a wise man who had reached the height of learning and achieved distinction in political affairs, and yet so assiduously did he cultivate virtue that at the peak of his prosperity and in the prime of life he embraced the monastic way and led the life of

66 Skylitzes rephrases Attaleiates here (cf. *History*, 15.5) to make a general pronouncement about divine signs (θεοσημείαι) functioning not only as punishments but as indications of future events. As Dagron noted, this view makes history into the science of portents, and the historian into both a prognosticator of past events and interpreter of the workings of providence; see "Quand la terre tremble," 99–103.

67 May of 1066, when Halley's Comet appeared.

68 August 10, 1063.

ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ τὸν ἀναχωρητικὸν ἐλέσθαι βίον χρόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ μικρὸν παρὰ τὸ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου ὄρος. Ὅθεν οὐδεὶς ἄξιος πλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐνομήσθη πρὸς τὸν ὑψηλὸν τῆς πατρι-
αρχίας βαθμὸν, εἰ καὶ ἀπαναινώμενος καὶ φεύγων ἐδιώχθη πρὸς τῆς τιμῆς. Ἀλλὰ
μὴν καὶ Θεοδούλου τοῦ Βουλγαρίας ἀρχιερέως κοιμηθέντος προχειρίζεται ὁ βασιλεὺς
Ἰωάννην τινὰ μοναχὸν ἐκ τῆς Λάμπης μὲν ὠρμημένον, συνασκητὴν δὲ καὶ σύμπονον
τοῦ Ξιφιλίνου.

118 Ἀπὸ δὲ μηνὸς Ὀκτωβρίου νόσος ἐνσκήψασα τῷ βασιλεῖ κατέτρυ|χεν αὐτὸν δεινῶς
ἄχρι τοῦ ἐπιόντος Μαΐου μηνός· ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ κατειργάσατο τοῦτον καὶ τῆς ἐνταῦθα
ζωῆς ἀπήγαγεν. Ἡ δὲ ὁσία τούτου οὐκ ἔνθα προσεδόκησε γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ διαπόντιος
ἀχθεὶς ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ ἀγίου Νικολάου, ἣ καλεῖται Μολυβωτόν, ἐναπετέθη. Ἐΐησε
δὲ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ χρόνους ἑπτὰ καὶ μῆνας ἕξ. Ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ παῖδες ἕξ Εὐδοκίας
τῆς βασιλίδος, ἣν ἔτι ἰδιωτεύων ἠγάγετο, ἄρρενες μὲν τρεῖς, Μιχαὴλ, Ἀνδρόνικος
καὶ Κωνστάντιος—τούτων πορφυρογέννητος ἦν ὁ Κωνστάντιος, πάντας δὲ βασιλεῖς
ἀνηγόρευσε—θήλειαι δὲ τρεῖς, Ἄννα, Θεοδώρα καὶ Ζωή. Καίσαρα δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελ-
φὸν προχειρισάμενος κοινωνὸν βουλευμάτων μυστηριωδῶν καὶ σκεμμάτων ἐτίθετο.
Μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ἔγγραφον ἀπήτησεν ἐκ πάντων ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτε παρὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ
παῖδας βασιλέα ἕτερον δέξαιτο· ἐν ᾧ καθυπέγραψαν ἅπαντες, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς
Εὐδοκία ὡς οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ αὐτὴ πρὸς δεύτερον ἐλεύσοιτο συνοικέσιον· καὶ ἀπαρτισθὲν
τῷ πατριάρχῃ φυλάττειν δεδῶκασιν. Ὅθεν καὶ παρὰ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ βασιλίδι τὰ πάντα
πεποίηκε, σωφρονεστάτῃ τε νομιζομένῃ ἀνδρὶ καὶ παιδοτροφῇσιν ἀκριβεστάτῃ καὶ
πρὸς τὸ τὰ κοινὰ διοικεῖν ἱκανωτάτῃ. Τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτών ὦν ἐξήκοντα καὶ
μικρὸν τι πρὸς. Εἵθιστο δὲ λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων αὐτῷ ὡς τιμῆς μὲν καὶ
χρημάτων οὐκ ἀποστερήσοι τούτους, ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων δὲ ὡς ἀργυρωνήτοις χρήσαιτο·
«ἀφειλόμην δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτούς, ἀλλ' οἱ νόμοι ἐκπτῶτους αὐτούς τῆς

69 On Xiphilinos' life and career, see the funeral oration composed by Psellos, in Kaldellis and Polemis, *Psellos and the Patriarchs*, 177–228.

70 The monastery of St. Nicholas of Molyboton lay outside the city, on the western side.

71 In other words, he was born to a reigning emperor—the first, by the way, since Basil II a century before. Note that this distinction did not put him first in line before Constantine's firstborn son Michael, although it did put him ahead of the second son Andronikos. This is an instructive case by which to gauge the relative weight of primogeniture and birth “in the purple” in imperial succession; see Dagron, “Nés dans la pourpre,” 133–135. His status as *porphyrogennetos*, however, would later induce Konstantios to assert what must have seemed his more rightful claim against Nikephoros III Botaneiates, a usurper (section VII.11 below).

72 Skylitzes is mistaken here. Konstantios was proclaimed co-emperor upon his birth in 1060; his elder brother Michael was later given this title. Andronikos, for his part, was not named co-emperor until 1068 when Romanos IV Diogenes took him on campaign, as Skylitzes relates below (section IV.6). See Gautier, “Monodie inédite,” 156–159.

an anchorite for no short time on Mount Olympos.⁶⁹ For these reasons no one apart from him was deemed worthy of the lofty office of Patriarch, even if he refused and had to be pressed to accept the honour when he sought to avoid it. When Theodoulos, the Archbishop of Bulgaria, died, the emperor appointed a monk, John, who came from Lampe and was a fellow ascete and monk of Xiphilinos.

12. Starting from the month of October an illness came over the emperor | and wore him down badly until the following May, when it claimed him and he departed this earthly life. His funeral did not take place where he had expected, but after being transported by sea to the monastery of St Nicholas, which is called Molyboton,⁷⁰ he was laid to rest there. He spent seven years and six months of his life as emperor. By the empress Eudokia, whom he had married when still a private citizen, he had three male children, Michael, Andronikos, and Konstantios—of whom Konstantios was born in the purple,⁷¹ although he proclaimed them all co-emperors⁷²—and three female, Anna, Theodora, and Zoe. He appointed his own brother John to the rank of *kaisar* and made him privy to his innermost counsels and plans.⁷³ When the end was near, he sought a written oath from all that they would never accept another emperor who was not one of his children. All put their names to this,⁷⁴ but the empress Eudokia also pledged that she would not enter into a second marriage.⁷⁵ Once the oath was ratified, they gave it to the Patriarch for safekeeping. For this reason he put everything in the hands of his wife the empress, since as her husband he had come to regard her as very prudent, quite strict in raising their children, and most capable of managing the affairs of state.⁷⁶ The emperor died at just over sixty years of age.⁷⁷ He used to say with regard to the people who plotted against him that he would not strip them of their high rank and possessions but would treat them as slaves instead of free men. “I was not the one,” he would say, “who took away their freedom, it was the laws that made them outcasts

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73 From this point on the *kaisar* John Doukas plays a prominent role in palace affairs; on his life and career, see Polemis, *Doukai*, 34–41.

74 Zonaras (xviii.9.23) specifies that all the members of the Senate swore to this.

75 For the edition and analysis of the text, see Oikonomides, “Le serment de l’impératrice Eudocie.” This was not an oath lightly taken. Eudokia swore it before her husband and children, the Patriarch, the Synod, and the Senate; she invoked the Holy Trinity, the Mother of God, the choirs of saints and martyrs as witnesses; and she called down the most fearsome retribution upon herself if she so much as contemplated a second marriage: “... may I be hacked limb from limb and cast into the fire and hurled into the sea ... may I strangle myself with my own hands ...”.

76 Repeating Psellos, *Chronographia*, vii, 119.3–5 (Sewter, 343).

77 A detail taken from the *Chronographia*, vii, 119.7 (Sewter, 343).

119 πολιτείας ποιήσαντες». Τοῖς δὲ λόγοις ἐξόχως προσκείμενος «ῥωφελον» ἔλεγεν «ἐκ τούτων ἢ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγνωρίζομην». Γενναῖος δὲ ὦν τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τινα εἰρηκότα ὡς αὐτὸς ἂν ἠδέεω | μαχόμενος ἐκείνου τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα προβάλλοιτο, «εὐφήμει» εἶπε «καὶ εἰ βούλοιό γε πεσόντι ἐπένεγκε πληγὴν καὶ αὐτός». Πρὸς δὲ τὸν τοὺς νόμους ἐξακριβούμενον ἐπὶ τῷ βούλεσθαι ἀδικεῖν, «οὔτοι» ἔφησεν «οἱ νόμοι ἡμᾶς ἀπολωλέκασι».

Κατέσχον δὲ τὰ σκήπτρα τῆς βασιλείας ἢ τε σύζυγος αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. Οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐφάν κατατρέχοντες Τοῦρκοι πάλιν τοῖς περὶ Μεσοποταμίαν ἐφήδρευον καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὴν Μελιτηνὴν ἐστρατοπεδευμένοις ῥωμαϊκοῖς στρατεύμασιν, οἵπερ τοῦ ὀψωνιασμοῦ ἐνδεήσαντες καὶ τῶν συνήθως παρεχομένων αὐτοῖς σιτηρεσίων στερούμενοι ἐνδεῶς εἶχον καὶ ταπεινῶς, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ὀργίλως διὰ τὴν ἐνδειαν, ὡς μὴ τοῖς ἰθαγενέσι στρατιώταις βούλεσθαι συνελθεῖν καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην σὺν αὐτοῖς



FIGURE 10 Seal of the “most fortunate” *kaisar* John Doukas (ca. 1060), a rare and remarkable example of someone not an emperor portraying himself on a seal (left), in this case a statement of authority from the brother of an emperor entrusted to safeguard the succession and interests of his family.

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from the state.” He was exceptionally devoted to learning and used to say, “I would rather be known for this than for being the emperor.” Valiant in spirit, he replied to someone who said that he would gladly | put his own body before him in battle, “How praiseworthy of you, and would you be so good as to inflict a wound on me yourself when I have fallen.” To someone making a close study of the law with the intention of committing a crime, he remarked, “These laws have brought us to ruin.”⁷⁸ 119

III The Regency of the Empress Eudokia (22 May–31 December 1067)

1. His wife and children now held the imperial sceptres.⁷⁹ The Turks who had been ravaging the east once again lay in wait for the Roman armies in Mesopotamia, especially the ones encamped around Melitene which had been doing without provisionment. Bereft of the supplies and payments usually provided to them they were miserable and downcast, and angry into the bargain on account of the scarcity, so that they refused to join forces with their comrades in arms and cross the Euphrates with them. When the Turks made their

⁷⁸ Constantine's sayings are taken directly from the *Chronographia*, VII, 121.3–13 (Sewter, 344).

⁷⁹ In public it was Eudokia who ruled the roost, according to Zonaras (XVIII.10.1–2): “... the empress took charge of public affairs, subordinating her sons to her authority, and she sat ahead of them on the imperial dais, with herself in the middle and them seated on either side, and thus arranged they conducted assemblies or discussions of political matters, received embassies, and made their way in the customary processions.” On Eudokia and her role as regent, see Garland, *Byzantine Empresses*, 168–172.

περαιώσασθαι. Ἐπερχομένων οὖν τῶν Τούρκων μόνοι οἱ Μελιτηνοὶ ἀντιστάντες ἄτερ αὐτῶν εὐμαρῶς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ὡς ἐκηβόλων ἐλυμαίνοντο καὶ κατετιτρώσκοντο, αὐτοὶ δ' ἀπαθείς διέμενον, ἕως ἀναγκασθέντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τε ἔφυγον καὶ πρὸς μάχην καὶ ἄκοντες ἔστησαν καὶ νῶτα δοῦναι παρεβιάσθησαν. Καὶ τροπῆς γενομένης ἔπεσον συχνοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ζωγρίαι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλήφθησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῷ ἅστει τῆς Μελιτηνῆς ἀνεσώθησαν.

Περιφρονήσαντες δὲ τούτους οἱ βάρβαροι ὡς ἤδη καταστραφέντας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, ἐκτρέχουσιν ἄχρι Καισαρείας, καταλιζόμενοι πάντα καὶ καταστρέφοντες καὶ πῦρ αὐτοῖς ὑπανάπτοντες. Καὶ τῷ σηκῷ τοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ περιωνύμου Βασιλείου εἰσπηδήσαντες δηροῦσι μὲν ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ διαρπάζουσι, προσραγνέντες δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου σορῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ λειψάνῳ δρᾶσαι τι πονηρὸν οὐδαμῶς ἠδυνήθησαν· προκατησφάλιστο γάρ καὶ περιεδεδόμητο κτίσμασιν ὀχυροῖς καὶ χρόνου δεομένοις πολλοὺ πρὸς καθαίρεσιν. | Τὰ δὲ τὰς ὁπὰς περιστέλλοντα θύρια, χρυσῷ καὶ μαργάροις ἐξεργασμένα καὶ λίθοις, ἐξαίρουσι καὶ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ὁμοῦ συμφορήσαντες αἵρουσιν ἐκεῖθεν, παραδόντες πολλοὺς τῶν Καισαρέων σφαγῇ καὶ τὸν ναὸν καταχράναντες.

Κάκειθεν ὑποστρέψαντες διέρχονται τοὺς εἰς Κιλικίαν ἄγοντας στενωπούς, μηδενὸς προγνόντος τὴν τούτων ἔφοδον, καὶ τοῖς Κίλιξιν ἐπιφανέντες ἐκπλήκτως ἐμφόβους εἰργάσαντο, φόνον πολὺν ποιοῦντες τῶν παρεμπιπτόντων αὐτοῖς. Χρονίσαντες δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ταύτην λυμηνάμενοι καὶ λαφύρων ἑαυτοὺς ἐμπλήσαντες καὶ λείας καὶ



FIGURE 11 Seal of Eudokia, Michael, and Konstantios “rulers of the Romans” (1067). This seal dates from the Eudokia’s seven-month regency from the death of Constantine x to her marriage to Romanos Diogenes. The reverse image (at right) displays her as the central and tallest figure, emphasizing her authority over her sons and co-rulers, not yet of majority age.

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attack, the soldiers from Melitene were the only ones to resist, without help from the others, and were easily crippled and wounded by the enemy shooting from a great distance, the enemy himself remaining unscathed, until they had no choice but to flee to the river. They reluctantly tried to make a stand but were forced to turn in flight. Great numbers of them fell during this rout, some were taken prisoner by the barbarians, and the rest found safety in the town of Melitene.

2. The barbarians bothered no more with them since they were by now beaten and weak, and pushed on as far as Kaisareia, ransacking and ruining everything and putting it all to the torch. After breaking into the shrine of the renowned Basil the Great they wrecked it and looted all the sacred objects. They even smashed their way into the saint's tomb but were in no way able to desecrate his holy remains, for these were protected and enclosed within a sturdy structure which would have taken a long time to demolish. | They did take away the panels wrought in gold, pearls, and precious stones that covered the portals, and after piling up everything of beauty they carried it off from there, putting many of the people of Kaisareia to the sword and defiling the church.

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3. On their way back from that place, they made their way through the passes leading into Cilicia without anyone being aware in advance of their arrival, and when they appeared before the Cilicians they struck panic and terror into them and slaughtered many who came across their path. They tarried in the region, laying waste to it, and after sating their appetite for booty and plunder

αἰχμαλωσίας πολλῆς ἀπίασι πρὸς τὸ Χάλεπ, παρά τινος αὐτομόλου Ἀμερτικῆ λεγομένου ὁδηγηθέντες ἐκεῖσε, δυσμενῶς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις διακειμένου, ἐπὶ τοῦ γέροντος μὲν Μιχαὴλ αὐτομολήσαντος καὶ τυχόντος μεγάλων δωρεῶν καὶ τιμῶν καὶ δεξιῶσεων, κατηγορηθέντος δὲ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Δούκα ὡς μέλλοντος αὐτὸν μαχαίρᾳ διαχειρίσασθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατακριθέντος φυγὴν διηνεκῇ, πάλιν δὲ γε τυχόντος ἀνακλήσεως καὶ ἀποσταλέντος κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων, τηνικαῦτα δὲ διὰ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων προσθεμένου τε τοῖς Τούρκοις καὶ τὴν χώραν διατιθέντος κάκιστα.

Γενόμενοι γοῦν ἐν οἷς τε Τούρκοι καὶ οἱ Χαλεπίται, καὶ ὁμολογίαν δόντες ἀλλήλοις, τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν κακῶς διετίθεσαν σφάττοντες, πυρπολοῦντες, ἀνδραποδίζοντες, λεηλατοῦντες, αἰχμαλωτίζοντες καὶ πᾶν, εἴ τι χεῖριστον, διαπραττόμενοι. Συνηθροίσθη μὲν γὰρ στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀξιόλογον, Νικηφόρου ὄντος τοῦ Βοτανειάτου ἐν ταύτῃ δουκός, ἡ δὲ φειδωλία καὶ ἡ γλισχρότης ἄπρακτα πάλιν τὰ πάντα ἀπέδειξεν. Οὐ γὰρ ὀλόκληρον τὸ ὀψώνιον, ἀλλὰ μερικὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ μέτριον δοθὲν ναρκῆσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐποίησε· λαβόντες γὰρ τὸ δοθὲν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία διεσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ πάλιν ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν χώραν δηροῦμενοι καὶ ἀδεῶς κατατρέχοντες. Νεολαίαν δὲ τινα βραχείαν, ἄρτι τῶν οἰκημάτων οἷς ἐνετρέφοντο ἐκπετη-
 121 δηκυῖαν, μικροῖς καὶ ἐλαχίστοις ἀθροίσαντες ἀναλώμασι τῷ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας | ἡγεμόνι ἐνεχείρισαν. Οἱ δρᾶσαι μὲν τι προεθυμοῦντο ἀπονοίᾳ νεωτερικῆς θρασυτήτος στρατηγούμενοι, ἀπειροπόλεμοι δὲ ὄντες καὶ ἄφιπποι καὶ σχεδὸν ἄοπλοι καὶ γυμνοὶ καὶ μηδὲ τὸν ἡμερήσιον ἄρτον ἔχοντες, πολλὰ παθόντες ἀνήκεστα εἰς τὴν σφῶν δυσκλεῶς ἐπανεστρεψαν γῆν, τοῦ δουκὸς Βοτανειάτου μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ τινων ξενικῶν δυνάμεων μετρίως αὐτοὺς ἀποσοβῆσαι ἰσχύσαντος. Παραλυθέντος δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνου τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπὶ πλέον ἐθρασύνθη, σιτοδείας πιεζούσης τὰς πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδείας.

Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ περ ἐξ ἀνάγκης βασιλέως ἐδεήθη τὰ πράγματα δυναμένου αὐτὰ ποσῶς καταστήσαι τε καὶ ὁμαλίσαι ἐν οὕτως ἐναντίοις καιροῖς, ἐψηφίζετο μὲν ἀξιολογώτατος ὁ Βοτανειάτης καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, νικᾷ δὲ ὅμως ἡ θεία βουλή· διὸ καὶ ἀνάγεται ἐπὶ

80 Michael VI Stratiotikos (1056–1057).

81 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 72–73 (no. 86). Amertikes is identified as Ibn Khan al-Turkumani, the first Turcoman of any status to enter into formal service with a Byzantine emperor; his failed attempt on the emperor's life took place in 1061. On his subsequent activities in 1064–1065 in the regions around Aleppo, see Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 118–119, and “Defection,” 607.

and plenty of captives, they headed off to Aleppo. They were guided there by a turncoat named Amertikes, a man hostile to the Romans, who had come over to their side during the reign of the Michael the Old⁸⁰ and been met with a lavish reception and gifts and honours. But he was brought before the emperor Constantine Doukas on the charge of plotting to slay him with a knife and was therefore condemned to a lengthy exile. He was recalled and sent out against the Turks, but then because of the lack of provisioning he went over to the Turks and did the greatest harm to the region.⁸¹

4. When the Turks and the people of Aleppo joined forces and made a pact between themselves, they subjected Syrian Antioch and its surroundings to great evils, carrying out massacres, burning, enslaving the population, looting, taking captives, and doing their worst in every way. An army worthy of the name, under the command of Nikephoros Botaneiates,⁸² was raised against them, but once again stinginess and neglect made it all ineffectual. The wages, paid to them not in full but in part and in a modest amount, sapped the soldiers' morale. Taking what was given they dispersed to their own homes, and once again the barbarians could lay waste to the land and ravage it to their hearts' content. A small band of raw youths, just out of the homes where they had grown up, was assembled with a bare minimum of expense and put under the command of the ruler of Antioch. | Going on campaign in the ignorance born of youthful boldness they were eager to perform some great feat of arms, but they were without experience of battle, had no mounts, were largely unarmed and unequipped, and lacked even their daily bread. After suffering cruelly they made an inglorious return to their own land, although the *doux* Nikephoros Botaneiates along with his own retinue and a few foreign contingents managed to fend off the enemy well enough. When he was relieved of his command, the barbarians grew all the more emboldened, while the cities were oppressed by the shortage of food and the lack of other necessities.

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5. Since out of necessity the situation called for an emperor capable of restoring matters to some degree and bringing calm in such chaotic times, Botaneiates was deemed a most worthy candidate, as were many others, yet it was the divine will that triumphed. Wherefore in accordance with this the

82 Botaneiates is attested as *magistros* and *doux* of Antioch in 1067. The aim of this section is to underline his worthiness for the throne and present him as the road not taken. On the historiography and significance of the Turkish advances of the 1060s, see Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 120–124.

ταύτην ὁ βεστάρχης Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Διογένης υἱός. "Ὀν δὲ τρόπον ἀνήχθη, ἔνθεν ἐρῶ.

Ἦν μὲν προβεβλημένος δοῦξ Σαρδικῆς ὁ Διογένης, πατρίκιος δὲ τυγχάνων ἐζήτησε τὸν βασιλέα Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Δούκαν τιμηθῆναι βεστάρχης. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπεῖπὼν αὐτῷ: «δεικνύων ἔργα ἀπαίτει μισθούς», κενὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἄπρακτον ἀπεπέμψατο μὴ προσσχὼν τῇ αἰτήσῃ αὐτοῦ. Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ὁ Διογένης καὶ τὴν Σαρδικὴν καταλαβὼν, περιτυχὼν Πατζινάκοις ἐξελθοῦσι καὶ λεηλατοῦσι τὴν χώραν τρόπαιον μέγιστον ἐστήσατο κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐαλωκότων ζῶντας μὲν πολλούς, κεφαλὰς δὲ τῶν ἀνερμημένων τῷ βασιλεῖ πεπομφῶς ἐτιμήθη βεστάρχης, γράψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς οὐκ ἐμὸν δῶρον, ὦ Διόγενης, τοῦτο ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας. Διατρίβων δὲ ἐκείσε ἡβουλήθη μὲν ἀντάραι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐπέσχε δὲ τὸ μελετώμενον δεδιῶς εἰς φῶς ἀγαγεῖν. Ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὴν καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἐχήμενον, κοινολογεῖται τινὶ τῶν πιστικωτάτων τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τοῖς παρακειμένοις ἔθνεσιν | ὁμιλήσας περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πράγματος, φιλίως αὐτῷ διακειμένοις ἐξ ὅτου τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἦρξε μερῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γενναιότητος πείραν ἔχουσι δασιλῇ. Καταμηνύεται

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FIGURE 12 Seal of the *patrikios* and *strategos* Romanos Diogenes (ca. 1060). This is the first known evidence for Diogenes' career before he attracted the notice of the chroniclers as a candidate for the throne after the death of Constantine x Doukas.

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vestarches Romanos, the son of Constantine Diogenes,⁸³ rose to the top. The way in which he was raised up I shall describe from this point on.⁸⁴

6. Diogenes had been promoted to *doux* of Sardica, and although a *patrikios* he made a request to the emperor Constantine Doukas that he be promoted to *vestarches*. The emperor replied to him, "Ask for rewards when you have something to show for them,"⁸⁵ and after refusing his request he dismissed him empty-handed and unsuccessful. And so Diogenes went on his way and reached Sardica. Encountering some Patzinaks who had ventured forth and were plundering the territory, he scored a great victory against them, and after sending many prisoners from among the survivors and the heads of the slain to the emperor he was made *vestarches*, with a note from the emperor telling him "this is not my gift, Diogenes, but what is due in return for your courage and manliness."⁸⁶ During his time there he was unwilling to rise in rebellion against the emperor and kept his plans to himself out of fear that they might come to light. Nevertheless, when the emperor passed away and the empire was left a widow,⁸⁷ he consulted with one of his intimates about the situation | and through this man conferred with the neighbouring peoples with regard to this matter since they were well disposed to him from the time he began to

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83 Attested as *patrikios*, *doux* of Thessalonike, and *strategos* of the Thrakesianoï during the reign of Basil II, and married to a niece of Romanos III Argyros (1028–1034), Constantine Diogenes made an unsuccessful bid for the throne in 1029 and was deprived of his properties and imprisoned. Although forced to become a monk, he made a second try in 1032, only to commit suicide upon its failure: Zonaras, XVIII.10.9–11; see also Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 42–44 (nos. 32 and 34).

84 Zonaras (XVIII.10.7–8) puts Diogenes' accession in a somewhat different light, noting Eudokia's fear that in view of the current situation the body politic (τὸ κοινὸν) might install an emperor who would exclude her and her children from the rulership; she therefore decided to put someone in power who would safeguard her and her children's interests. He adds somewhat cattily that "they say that she married Diogenes not out of licentiousness nor as a slave to pleasure, but brought him to power as a decisive man, skilled in warfare, and unrivalled in strength, so that the barbarians' invasion would be checked in some measure once he came to grips with them."

85 δεικνύων ἔργα ἀπαίτει μισθούς: also quoted in the *Synopsis*, 484.38 (Wortley, 452). This story puts the criticisms of Constantine X's parsimony and obsession with revenues (above, II.2; 6) in a different light. Like his predecessors Isaac I and Michael VI, Constantine economised by limiting promotions whose attendant salaries depleted the imperial coffers—promotions were to be earned, not demanded. Cf. Cheynet, "La politique militaire," 68–69.

86 Little is known of Romanos Diogenes' life before 1067; his seals confirm this promotion from *patrikios* to *vestarches* that capped his career in the west; see Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization*, 66–67, and Cheynet, "Grandeur et décadence des Diogénai," 574–578.

87 In other words, left without a male ruler.

παρά του Ἀρμενίου τὸ γένος, καὶ δὴ συλληφθεὶς δεσμώτης πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδαν ἀπάγεται. Ἐλεγχθεὶς δὲ καὶ καταθέμενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατακριθεὶς θάνατον ὡς ἐπίβουλος ὑπερορίζεται καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκβάλλεται, πᾶσιν ἀνίαν ἐνθέμενος ὅσοι τῆς αὐτοῦ γενναϊότητος καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐν πείρᾳ καθίσταντο. Οἱ δ' ἀγνοοῦντες ἐκ τῶν εἰδότην ταύτην παραλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆρχον ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἐρασταί. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δι' εὐχῆς ἦν τοῖς ὅλοις ἀνώτερον τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι κολαστηρίων καὶ χαρισθῆναι τῇ Ῥωμαίων τοῦτον ἀρχῇ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ σκοπὸς ζήλου θεοῦ ἦν καὶ οὐ φιλαυτίας, περιαλγούντος τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν πληθύσεως πασχούσης κακῶς καὶ κεραϊζομένης ὁσημέραι πρὸς τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν, ἐνηργήθη λοιπὸν τοῖς εὐχομένοις τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς. Παραστάντος γὰρ αὐθις αὐτοῦ τῷ βασιλικῷ βήματι περιέσχεν ἔλεος ἄσχετος τὴν αὐγοῦσταν Εὐδοκίαν· ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ θεαθῆναι ἀγαθός, ἐπιμήκης τε τὴν ἡλικίαν ὦν καὶ στέρνων καὶ νώτων ἐν καλῷ καθορώμενος, εὐόφθαλμός τε, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, καὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτόθεν παράκλησιν ἐκκαλούμενος, μήτ' ἀκριβὲς τὸ λευκὸν μήτε τὸ μέλαν ἀποσώζων, ἀλλ' οἷον συγκεκραμένα κατ' ἴσον ἀμφοτέρω. Ὡς οὖν καὶ ἡ παρεστῶσα γερουσία συνέπαθεν, εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθησεν ἡ συμπάθεια. Καὶ περισθεὶς τοῦ κινδύνου παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα καὶ προσδοκίαν βασιλικῆς ἀξιώσεως ἔτυχε. Διὸ καὶ ἀπολυθεὶς παρὰ πάντων ἡσπάζετο. Ἐξιών οὖν εἰς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ τὴν γέννησιν ἔσχηκε, πάλιν μεταπεμφθεὶς εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν εἰσελήλυθε, κὰν τοῖς γενεθλίοις τοῦ σωτήρος Χριστοῦ μάγιστρος τιμᾶται καὶ στρατηλάτης προβέβληται παρὰ τῆς βασιλίδος, προσελθούσης βασιλικῶς μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων παίδων εἰς τὸν μέγιστον καὶ περίπυστον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Σοφίας σηκόν.

- 123 Δεδοικίας δὲ τῆς βασιλίδος τὴν τε σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν πατριάρχην καὶ τοὺς ὑπογράψαντας καὶ ὁμόσαντας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ τολμώσης ζευχθῆναι τινὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ βασιλέα ἀναγορεῦσαι αὐτόν, ἔγνω δεῖν ὑπὲρ γυναῖκα μὲν φρονῆσαι, πανουργία δὲ καὶ δόλῳ τὸν πατριάρχην ὑπελθεῖν καὶ οὕτως αὐτῇ τε τὸ ἐφετὸν καταπραΰνασθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ποσῶς ἀναχαιτίσαι ὁρμήν. Κοινοῦται τοῖνυν τὸ πρᾶγμα τινὶ τῶν

88 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 74–75 (nos. 90 and 91); Attaleiates, *History*, 16.8, insists that Diogenes acted out of concern for the deteriorating military situation in the east, not out of lust for power.

89 Zonaras (xviii.10.18) hints at other feelings at play here: “The empress took pity on him with the rest, and compassion for the man took hold of her—if it was love, I cannot say.”

90 This passage, emphasizing the condemned Diogenes’ handsome eyes and features, and the sympathy these elicited from the onlookers, makes the description of his appearance after his blinding all the more terrible (below, v.21).

91 Skylitzes and Zonaras (xviii.10.19–11.5) tell the same story in different ways. Skylitzes’ colloquialisms (knife on a whetstone, tunny-fish gulping the bait) are absent in Zonaras; on the other hand, Zonaras has the eunuch bait the hook by telling the Patriarch that the empress is smitten with Bardas. Both select or omit material to cast Eudokia and Romanos Diogenes in a better or worse light; Skylitzes, for instance, portrays her manipulation of the Patriarch as a devious means to a worthy end (wriggling out of her oath to procure

govern the areas adjacent to them and were more than familiar with his noble character. But the fellow, an Armenian by descent, informed against him, and he was seized and brought in chains to the capital. Accused and brought to trial and on this account condemned to death as a conspirator, he was banished and expelled from the City, a cause of deep distress to those who were aware of his noble character and courage.⁸⁸ Those with no knowledge of him learned of these qualities from the people who did know him and through word of mouth they came to adore him. As a result it was the prayer of all that this man would be exempted from punishment and be graced with rulership over the Romans. Since his ambition sprang not from selfishness but from a divine fervour stirred by his anguish at the great number of Christians suffering terribly and being massacred day after day at the hands of the children of Hagar, the prayers of the people who prayed were answered. As he stood once more before the imperial throne, an unrestrainable feeling of pity took hold of the empress Eudokia,⁸⁹ for in comparison with others he was a handsome man to behold, tall in stature and of fine appearance in his broad chest and back, with eyes more beautiful than any other's, the source from which he elicited consolation for his suffering,⁹⁰ and he had a complexion not exactly white or dark but as though both were mixed in equal measure. And so as the Senate standing about began to feel sorry for him, feelings of sympathy followed straightway. Saved from danger against all hope and expectation, he received the imperial dignity; and absolved, he was embraced by all. Setting out for Cappadocia, the place from which he originated, he was called back once again and entered the Reigning City. On Christmas Day he was given the title of *magistros* and promoted to supreme commander by the empress who led the imperial procession with her own children to the greatest and renowned Church of the Divine Wisdom.

7. Since the empress feared the Senate and the Patriarch as well as those who had signed and sworn the oath and therefore did not dare join herself in marriage to a man distinguished by rank and proclaim him emperor, she realised that she had to reckon beyond a woman's power and win over the Patriarch with guile and trickery, and in this way both accomplish her objective and halt the onslaught of the foreign peoples.⁹¹ She therefore took up the plan with a cer-

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a husband and emperor capable of saving the east), whereas Zonaras calls her scheme "wicked and calculating" in that she sought to obtain a husband indebted to her for saving his life whom she could thus use as the instrument of her own power. In this she was to be disappointed when the initially amenable Diogenes reverted to character ("arrogant and defiant") and cast off her yoke to rule as he wished. Kaldellis (*Streams of Gold*, 238–241) is undoubtedly right in suggesting that this story was floated by the Doukai to justify their betrayal of Diogenes (and to discredit Eudokia, for that matter, who was bundled off to a nunnery) in the machinations following Mantzikert.

ἐκ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ὡς ἐπιτηδεῖω πρὸς τοῦτο. Ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖται παντὶ τρόπῳ συμπράξειν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ σπουδαζόμενον, ξυρὸς εἰς ἀκόνην, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, ὦν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα. Ἀδελφὸς ἦν τῷ πατριάρχῃ Βάρδας ὄνομα, λαγνίστατός τε καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἐπτοημένος καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο διὰ βίου ἔχων προτέρημα. Πρόσεισι γοῦν τῷ πατριάρχῃ ὁ τομίας, ἀπαγγέλλει αὐτῷ μυστικῶς τὰ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ ὡς, εἰ θελήσει, μᾶλλον δὲ συνεπινεύσειε μόνον μηδὲνα κίνδυνον ὑφορᾶσθαι ἐκ τῆς φρικτῆς ἐκείνης χειρογραφίας, ζευχθήσεται μὲν τῇ βασιλίδι ὁ τούτου αὐτάδελφος, παραυτίκα δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθήσεται. Ὡς δ' ἔσχεν ὅλον τὸν πατριάρχῃν θύνον καταπιόντα τὸ δέλεαρ καὶ ἤδη μονονουχί τὴν συναρμογὴν ἐπισπεύδοντα, γίνεται γνώμης πυθέσθαι περὶ τούτου καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον. Ἐνα καθένα γοῦν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ πατριάρχης προσκαλούμενος τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τοῦ πράγματος κατεσκεύαζε, διασύρων τὸ ἔγγραφον ὡς ἔκνομόν τε καὶ ἄθεσμον καὶ διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γεγονὸς καὶ μὴ πρὸς κοινὴν λυσιτέλειαν ἀφορῶν, ὅπερ ἔσται πάντως, εἰ ζευχθήσεται ἡ βασιλὶς ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ τε καὶ θυμοειδεῖ· ἀναθηλήσουσι γὰρ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐσαῦθις, ἤδη μαρανθῆναι καὶ ἀποσβεσθῆναι ἐλπιζόμενα. Ὡς δ' ἔσχε πάντας συμψήφους, τοὺς μὲν πειθοῖ καὶ κολακείᾳ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ χρημάτων παροχαῖς καὶ μειλίγμασιν ἀδροτέροις, καὶ τῷ πραχθησομένῳ δέος οὐχ ὑπὴν, ἄγεται μὲν ὁ Διογένης νυκτὸς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια ἔνοπλος καὶ τῇ βασιλίδι προσ|ζεύγνυται· ἀναγορεύεται δὲ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς τῆς ἕκτης ἐπινεμήσεως, ἔτει ,ς'φορ', λαθὼν πάντας τοὺς τῆς βασιλίδος υἱεῖς. Γίνεται παραυτίκα τάραχος παρὰ τῶν Βαράγγων πολλὸς μὴ ἀνεχομένων εὐφημῆσαι αὐτὸν παρὰ τὰ κοινῇ δόξαντα. Ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ ταύτης υἱὸς Μιχαὴλ σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς γνώμῃ αὐτῶν ἀπαγγέλλουσι γενέσθαι τὸ γεγονός, καὶ αὐτίκα μετατραπέντες μεγάλας καὶ διατόροις φωναῖς αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνηγόρευσαν. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐφάνη ἐκ τούτου, {ὡς} οὐ μάτην ἠλπίκασιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ οἱ πολλοί. Ἐκράτησε δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς σὺν τοῖς υἱέσι μῆνας ἑπτὰ καὶ μικρόν τι πρὸς.

tain fellow in the women's quarters who would serve as a useful means to this end. This man promised to collaborate with her in every way in her endeavour, being, as it were, a razor on a whetstone in matters such as these. The Patriarch had a brother whose name was Bardas,⁹² a thoroughly lecherous type who indulged in pleasures and had no other attainment in life. The eunuch approached the Patriarch and confided the details of the plan. If he wished, or rather if he were to agree only to see no repercussion from the document solemnly sworn to, his own brother would be joined in marriage to the empress and straightway proclaimed emperor. When he had the Patriarch completely in his grasp like a tunny-fish gulping down the bait and barely able to wait to perform the marriage, he felt that the Senate should be informed about this. One by one the Patriarch summoned them and explained how necessary it all was. He disparaged the document as illegal, unlawful, and the product of one man's jealousy that did not take into account the public good—which would be fully served if the empress were joined in marriage to a noble and high-spirited man. The fortunes of the Romans that were already withering and waning would flourish anew. When he had them all in agreement, some by persuasion and flattery, others by bribes and generous enticements, and there were no further misgivings with regard to the step about to be taken, Diogenes was conveyed at night to the palace in full armour and married to the empress. | He was proclaimed emperor on the first day of the month of January, in the sixth indiction, in the year 6576,⁹³ unbeknownst to the empress's sons. Immediately there was a great uproar among the Varangians who, contrary to what had been collectively decided by everyone else, refused to acclaim him. Her son Michael appeared before them along with his brothers and announced that the event had taken place with their approval. They came round right away and with loud, piercing cries they too acclaimed him. As events were to show, it was not in vain that the majority of people placed their hopes in him. The empress had reigned with her sons for just over seven months.

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92 Identified as the Patriarch's nephew by Zonaras. This man may be the Bardas Xiphilinos attested as a *patrikios* and military commander of Thessalonike on a seal from the mid-eleventh century; see Wassiliou-Seibt, "Die Familie Xiphilinos," nos. 2 and 9.

93 January 1, 1068.

Ῥωμανὸς δὲ ὁ Διογένης οὕτω τῶν σκήπτρων ἐπιτυχῶν, οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν ἐν ποσὶ πραγμάτων, τῆς στρατιωτικῆς εὐταξίας ἐφρόντισε καὶ συστάσεως, κὰν ὁ τι μάλιστα συνέδρους εἶχε τοὺς προγονοὺς, ἐφέδρους δὲ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀληθέστερον, καὶ τὸν τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν καίσαρα, οἱ καὶ ἐμποδῶν αὐτῷ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τέλους κατέστησαν καὶ τὰ ῥωμαϊκὰ κακῶς διέθεσαν πράγματα, καὶ εἰς ὃ νῦν ὁρᾶται ἔχοντα. Ἦρξατο γάρ τοὺς τε ἀξιολογωτέρους δεξιοῦσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐχέφροσι καὶ πεπειραμένοις ὁμιλεῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἀντέχεσθαι πρεσβευτάς τε ἐτοιμάζειν καὶ πανταχόθεν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀποτειχίζειν τὴν ἀράροdon. Διὰ ταῦτά τοι καὶ μετὰ δύο μηνῶν παρολκὴν ἢ τῆς ἐώας αὐτὸν δέχεται Προποντίς, καὶ ὁ ζῆλος τῆς ἐκδικίας ἐνίκησε τὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι τρυφὴν τε καὶ θυμηδίαν. Ὁ καὶ πάντας κατέπληξεν, ἢ ταχεῖα δηλαδὴ ἐτοιμασία καὶ διάταξις καὶ παρασκευὴ πρὸς ἀνάγκης αὐτῷ γενομένη πολλῆς.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ταῖς προειρημέναις ἐκδρομαῖς ἀπειρηκότα ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἦσαν κινδύνοις. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς βορειοτέροις αὐτὸς ὁ σουλτάνος παν-
 125 στρατιᾷ ἐξελλήλυθε δυνάμεις ἄγων ἀνυποίστους | καὶ βαρείας καὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ φθινοπώρου προσήνωτο, βουλόμενος παραχειμάσαι ἐκεῖσε καὶ ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος προσεχώς προσβαλεῖν καὶ ἄρδην ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων



FIGURE 13 Seal of Romanos IV Diogenes and Eudokia, shown being crowned by Christ (obverse), with the emperor's stepsons and junior co-rulers depicted on the reverse: Michael VII in the centre, Konstantios on the right, and Andronikos on the left. Nothing could show more clearly the dynastic complications faced by Romanos, whose two sons by Eudokia do not appear on his coins and seals.
 BZS 1958.106.539. © DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION, WASHINGTON DC

IV The Reign of Romanos IV Diogenes (1 January 1068–24 October 1071)

1. When Romanos Diogenes had gained the sceptre in this way, he devoted no less thought to matters close at hand than he did to the good order and organisation of the army, even though what he had to contend with most were the stepsons who beset him, or, to put it more truthfully, lay in ambush, and the brother of the former emperor, the *kaisar* John. They all impeded him from beginning to end and mismanaged the affairs the Romans, with the results one can see now. For the emperor began to bring more reputable men into his circle, to consult with seasoned commanders of sound judgment, to take charge of tactical and strategic operations, and to prepare envoys and to deny entry to the enemy on all fronts.⁹⁴ As a result, after two months the eastern side of the Propontis received him, and his thirst for vengeance outweighed the leisure and pleasant existence in the Imperial City. What astounded everyone, of course, was the swift preparation, mobilisation, and procurement of supplies effected by his great sense of urgency.⁹⁵

2. The regions around Antioch and Cilicia subjected to the raids described above were in the most dire peril. In the areas further to the north, the sultan himself went forth with his entire army, at the head of irresistible forces, | and arrived at the Roman frontier in the autumn. He intended to spend the winter there and with the coming of spring make a full scale invasion to overthrow the Roman empire and utterly destroy it. The emperor gathered an army—

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94 Zonaras (XVIII.11.6–7) adds a further motive: “... he took these steps for two reasons, to deny entry to the barbarians and provide as much security as he could to his subjects, and to win renown for himself so as not to be completely subservient to the empress but to rule in his own right.”

95 The campaigns of 1068, 1069, and 1071 take up most of the narrative of Romanos Diogenes’ reign. The image that Skylitzes (following Attaleiates) presents of an energetic, capable (but not infallible) soldier-emperor undone by incompetent and faithless subordinates is offset by Psellos’ attempts to criticise his generalship, deligitimise his reign, and exculpate the Doukas family from the betrayal of Diogenes during and after Mantzikert. See de Vries-van der Velden, “Psellos, Romain IV Diogènes et Mantzikert,” and Krallis, *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 126–142.

καὶ καθελεῖν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς στρατὸν ἐπαγόμενος—οὐχ οἷον εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' οἷον παρῆχεν ὁ καιρὸς—ἔκ τε Μακεδόνων καὶ Βουλγάρων καὶ Καπαδοκῶν καὶ Οὐζων καὶ τῶν ἄλλως παρατυχόντων ἐθνικῶν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ Φράγκων καὶ Βαράγγων, τῆς ὁδοῦ σπουδαίως ἐφήψατο.

Συνήχθησαν δὲ οἱ πάντες κελεύσματι βασιλικῷ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ, ἥτοι τῷ θέματι τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν. Ἐνθα καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τι παράδοξον, τοὺς διαβοήτους προμάχους τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τῶν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καταδουλωσαμένων, καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν στρατιὰν ἐξ ὀλίγων συγκειμένην ἀνδρῶν καὶ τούτων συγκεκυφῶτων τῇ πενίᾳ καὶ κακουχίᾳ καὶ πανοπλίας ἐστερημένων, ἀντὶ μαχαίρων καὶ ἄλλων ὀργάνων πολεμικῶν, τὸ τῆς Γραφῆς ἐρεῖν, ζιβύνας καὶ δρέπανα οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ εἰρήνης ἐπαγομένους, ἵππου τε πολεμικῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντας, ἅτε μὴ στρατευσαμένου βασιλέως ἐκ πολλοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἀχρήστων καὶ ἀσυντελῶν καὶ τὸν ὀψωνιασμὸν αὐτῶν παρεικότος καὶ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν σιτηρέσιον. Δειλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀνάλκιδες καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν γενναῖον χρησιμεύοντες κατεφαίνοντο, ὡς καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς σημαίας τοῦτο σιωπηρῶς ἀποφθέγγεσθαι πιναράς ὀρωμένας ὥσπερ ἀπὸ λιγνύος ἐξοφωμένας καπνοῦ, καὶ ὁπαδοὺς ἐχούσας εὐαριθμήτους καὶ πενιχροὺς. Ταῦτα τοῖς παροῦσιν ὀρώμενα πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν προσήγον καὶ ἐνεποιοῦν, ἀναλογιζομένοις ἐξ οἷων ποῖ κατηντήκασιν τὰ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα καὶ αὖθις τίνα τρόπον κακὰ ποίων χρημάτων καὶ διὰ πόσου τοῦ χρόνου εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐπανελεύσονται, τῶν μὲν γηραιωτέρων καὶ πεπειραμένων ἀφίππων ὄντων καὶ ψιλῶν, τῆς δὲ νεαλοῦς στρατιᾶς ἀπειροπολέμου καθεστηκυίας καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν οὐκ ἐθάδος ἀγώνων, καὶ αὖθις τὸ τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων φιλοκινδυνότατον | καὶ ἐν πολέμοις ἐπίμονον καὶ ἔμπειρον καὶ ἐπιτήδειον.

Πάντοθεν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαπορούμενος καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν διὰ τὴν κοινὴν λυσιτέλειαν ἔκρινεν, ὡς ἐνῆν, τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀντιπαρτάξασθαι καὶ τῆς πολλῆς αὐτοὺς ποσῶς ἀναχατίσαι καὶ ἀναστεῖλαι ὁρμῆς. Τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους, ἀγνοοῦντας τὰ οἴκοι τὸν βασιλέα πιέζοντά τε καὶ θλίβοντα, ἡ ἀθρόα τούτου ὁρμὴ τε καὶ ἔφοδος μᾶλλον ἐξέπληξεν, οἰηθέντας, ὥσπερ ὕστερον μεμαθήκαμεν, ὅτι κινδύνων οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐδένα λόγον πεποιήται, ἀλλ' Ἄρεως ὦν φοιτητὴς καινοποιήσει καὶ ἀνηβήσει τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα καὶ ἀντισηκώσει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὰ ἐπίχειρα. (Διὰ) ταῦτά τοι ὁ μὲν σουλτάνος ὀπισθόρμητος γέγονε, μοῖραν δὲ τίνα μεγάλην ἀποτεμόμενος καὶ ταύτην διχρῆ διελὼν, τὴν μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὴν ἄνω νοτιωτέραν ἐκπέμπει, τὴν δὲ βορειότεραν παραγγέλλει γενέσθαι.

96 Echoing Isaiah 2:4.

97 Cheynet rightly cautions against taking this passage as an accurate description of the state of the Byzantine army. He points out that the rag-tag force mustered here was drawn from the old thematic contingents which during the eleventh century were superseded by smaller but superior tagmatic units stationed in the themes. It would appear that

by no means of the sort worthy of a Roman emperor but such as the times provided—of Macedonians and Bulgarians, of Cappadocians and Uzes and foreign peoples who for some reason happened to be on hand, as well as Franks and Varangians—and in haste took up the march.

3. By the emperor's command all had assembled in Phrygia, that is to say in the Anatolikon theme. There a strange sight met the eye, the famous elite forces of the Romans, who had subjugated all the west and all the east, and their army, now composed of a paltry few. They were stooped by poverty and ill-treatment, deprived of their weaponry, and although it was not a time of peace they carried hunting spears and scythes instead of swords and other weapons of war, to speak from Scripture,⁹⁶ and they lacked cavalry and the rest of their equipment. It had been a long time since an emperor had gone on campaign. The soldiers were therefore ineffective and useless, and their salary and traditional provisionment had been neglected. They were timid and unwarlike and gave no indication that they were capable of any feat of arms. Their very standards bore silent witness to that with their squalid appearance, as though they had been dirtied by thick smoke, and they had a small and pitiful lot trailing in their wake. The sight drove the onlookers to despair as they realized the depth to which the armies of the Romans had sunk, and in what way, with what means, and how long a time it would take to restore them to their old form.⁹⁷ The veteran and seasoned soldiers were without horses and armour, while the contingent of recruits had no experience of battle and were not accustomed to the rigours of soldiering, whereas their opponents exulted in danger | and were steadfast, proven, and up to the task in battle. 126

4. Beset with difficulties, yet unwilling to remain idle when the common good was at stake, the emperor decided, insofar as possible, to confront the enemy and in a mighty onslaught put a halt to them and drive them away. His rapid advance and his approach greatly astounded the enemy, who did not know of his domestic constraints and troubles, and had them thinking, just as we were to learn later, that this man took no account of dangers, but was a student of Ares who would renew and raise up the Roman state and repay the enemy in their own coin. The sultan therefore beat a retreat, and after detaching a large contingent which he divided into two, he despatched one to upper Asia as his southern wing and ordered the other to be his northern wing.

Diogenes wished to raise a national army to complement the mainly foreign tagmata which formed the core of his expeditionary forces. See "La politique militaire," 69–71, and "Du stratège de thème au duc."

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἐνῆν, τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπιρρώσας ὅλη χειρὶ καὶ ἀξιώμασι καὶ δώροις ἀναθαρρήσαι πεποικώς, καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ταξίαρχας ἀρίστους ἐκάστῳ τάγματι ἐπιμελῶς προστησάμενος ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ στρατιὰν ἀξιόλογον κατεστήσατο καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ Πέρσας προθυμότερον ἤλαυνεν. Ὡς δὲ τὸ βορειότερον στρατόπεδον τῶν Περσῶν ἐκδρομὴν τινα πρότερον φαντάσαν δόξαν ὑποχωρήσεως ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως προόδου παρέσχετο, ἔγνω λοιπὸν ὁ Διογένης τοῖς νοτίοις ἐπεισπεσεῖν, οἳ τὰ περὶ Κοίλιν Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καταληγίζοντες ἦσαν. Καὶ καταλιπὼν τὸ εὐθὺ Κολωνείας καὶ Σεβαστείας φέρεσθαι τῷ τοῦ Λυκανδοῦ ἐπεχωρίασε θέματι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ θέρους· ἐν γὰρ τῷ φθινοπώρῳ τοῖς συριακοῖς παραβαλεῖν ἐμελέτα μέρεσιν, ὡς ἂν μὴ τῷ καύσωνι κακουχηθὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον δυσπραγήσῃ καὶ διαλωβηθῇ. Ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὴν Νεοκαισάρειαν ἐξ ἀπροόπτου ἐπελθόντες καταστρέφουσι καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων ἐγένοντο κύριοι, βάρους ἐπαγόμενοι λαφυραγωγίας | οὐκ ἐλάχιστον.

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Ὁ καὶ εἰς ὧτα τοῦ βασιλέως πεσὼν πολλὴν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνίαν ἐνέσταξεν, ὅτι, καίτοι ἐκστρατευσαμένου, οὐδὲν ἦττον οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ κατεσθίουσιν. Ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀνειλφῶς δι' ἀτραπῶν δυσβάτων ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος κατόπιν ἤλαυνε. Πλησιάσας δὲ τῇ Σεβαστείᾳ τὴν μὲν στρατιωτικὴν ἀποσκευὴν καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἅπαν αὐτοῦ που ἀφίησι μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου προγονοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου συνόντος αὐτῷ, ὃν αὐτὸς βασιλέα χειροτονήσας ὡς ἐνέχυρον εἶχεν ἢ συστράτηγον, εἴ πῃ πολλάκις παρήκων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πολυτρόπως τῷ χρεῶν λειτουργήσειεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν εὐζωνοτέρων ὀπισθεν ἐδίωκε τῶν ἐχθρῶν διὰ πολλῶν ὑψηλοτάτων βουνῶν τῆς Τεφρικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀργαοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιτεθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου ἠπείγετο. Ὅθεν καὶ ἀδόκητος αὐτοῖς ἐπεισπεσὼν καὶ τῇ φήμῃ τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας πάντας ἐκδειματώσας αὐτίκα νῶτα δεδωκέναι ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ὀρμήσαι. Φόνος μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐγένετο πολὺς προκατειργασμένων τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ταῖς ἀνοδίαις, ζωγρία δὲ πολλοὶ ἐάλωσαν· τῆς δὲ ἰδίας ζωῆς οὐκ ἀπάναντο μαχαίρας ἔργον γενόμενοι. Ἡ λεῖα μέντοι πᾶσα ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἕως κτήνους ἐλευθερωθεῖσα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ γλώσση καὶ θαύματι ἐπευφήμησαν· θαυμαστὸν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ πραχθὲν ἐλογίζετο, πῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀκρατῶς κατ' αὐτῶν ἤλασε τρόπον εὐζώνου καὶ μονοζώνου στρατιώτου. Τρισὶ δὲ μόνας ἡμέρας ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ διαναπαύσας τὸ στράτευμα τῆς πρὸς Συρίαν ἀγούσης ἤψατο καὶ διὰ τῶν τῆς Κουκουσοῦ αὐλώνων εἰς Γερμανίειαν καταστάς εἰς τὸ θέμα τὸ καλούμενον Τελοῦχ εἰσβάλλει.

98 On the conduct and objectives of the 1068 campaign, see Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 134–143.

99 The son of Constantine x Doukas noted above (section 11.12), not to be confused with that emperor's nephew, the notorious Andronikos Doukas, son of the *kaisar* John, who helped engineer Romanos Diogenes' downfall. Polemis suggests that Diogenes took Andronikos

5. The emperor, as far as he could, devoted every effort to strengthening the forces with him and encouraged them with positions and gifts, and after meticulously placing the best officers and commanders in each unit he put together an army worthy of the name in a short time. With this army he set out against the Persians with greater resolve. Since the northern force had previously shown signs of moving out and given the impression of a withdrawal before the emperor's advance, Diogenes then decided to fall upon the one to the south which was engaged in pillaging the regions around Coele Syria, Cilicia, and Antioch itself.⁹⁸ Abandoning his plan to head straight for Koloneia and Sebasteia, he bided his time in the theme of Lykandos during the summer, for he planned to cross over into the Syrian lands during the autumn so that his army would not suffer and be weakened by the punishing summer heat. In the meantime the Turks made an unanticipated attack upon Neokaisareia and destroyed it. They became masters of many goods and prisoners, and they carried off no light haul of booty.

6. When the news reached the emperor's ears, it filled him with great distress, because even though he had sallied forth on campaign the enemy were nonetheless devouring his land before his very eyes. In any event he gathered his forces and set off at full speed after them, along difficult paths. As he drew near Sebasteia, he left the army's baggage train and all his infantry in a place with his own stepson Andronikos,⁹⁹ who was accompanying him, and whom he himself had appointed emperor to have as surety or a fellow commander so that in case he was suddenly absent Andronikos could perform his various duties in the necessary way. With his light cavalry he gave chase to the enemy and pressed on through the steep highlands of Tephrike and Argoun to hit the enemy from the flank. The result was that once he had fallen upon them unexpectedly and by the report of his presence frightened them all out of their wits he straightway made them turn tail and rush off in flight. There was not a great massacre of them since the emperor's soldiers were worn out from their march through rugged terrain, but many were taken prisoner. They did not long enjoy their lives since they were put to the sword. All the plunder, from men to livestock, was set free, and they acclaimed the emperor in voice and veneration. The feat reckoned most amazing by the enemy themselves was how the emperor of the Romans had tirelessly kept after them in the fashion of a nimble and lightly-armed soldier. He gave his army just three days rest in Sebasteia and took up the march towards Syria, and after reaching Germanikeia through the defiles of Koukousos he entered the *thema* called Telouch.

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along as a hostage to guard against any mischief on the part of his relatives remaining in the capital: *Doukai*, 46–48.

128 πρότερον ἀποτεμόμενος φάλαγγα οὐκ ὀλίγην μετὰ συνταγματάρχου καὶ εἰς Μελιτηνὴν ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τε τῆς ἐφῶας | καὶ ἀντιπτώσει τῶν ἐκεῖσε προσεδρευόντων ἐχθρῶν, ὧν ἦρχεν ἀνὴρ πανοῦργος καὶ μάχιμος ὀνόματι Ἀψινάλιος· διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς κρεῖττονας τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ τουτῷ παραδédωκε καὶ Φράγκους αὐτοὺς, ἀνδρας αἰμοχαρεῖς καὶ πολεμικοὺς. Μὴ χρησαμένου δὲ τοῦ προάγοντος φιλοτίμως τοῖς πράγμασι δέει τῆς ἀποτυχίας—ἦν γὰρ διαφέρων φρονήσει καὶ εὐλαβῶς ἔχων περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος—διπλοὺς μικροῦ ὁ πόλεμος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπεγένετο στερισκομένῳ τοιαύτης δυνάμεως. Πολλάκις γὰρ προσκαλουμένων τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξίεναι τοῦ τῶν Μελιτηνῶν ἄστεως, ὡς εἶδον μὴδ' ἐπαισθανομένους αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμοῦντας καὶ οἷον ὑπνώττοντας, διὰ τόπων ἀδήλων βαδίσαντες ἀσυμφανῶς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κατατολμῶσι στρατεύματος. Ἐντυχόντες δὲ μοῖρα τινὶ ἐλαχίστη, δι' ἀγορὰν σιτίων ἐξιούσῃ, ὥρμησαν κατ' αὐτῆς. Ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μὴ ὑποστάντες ἔφυγον ἀμεταστρεπτί. Καὶ τάχα ἂν ἀπώλετο μέρος στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον οὐδ' εὐκαταφρόνητον, εἰ μὴ ταχὺς αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπεβοήθησε καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐφόδου ἐξείλετο. Εἴ τις τοίνυν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπιγράφει ὡς ἐπίπαν τὰ τῶν ἐκβάσεων, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον εἴτ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον συνάγοιντο, οὐ διαμαρτάνει πάντῃ τοῦ ὀρθοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθοῦς διαγνώσεως· καὶ καλῶς τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐγνωμολόγηται βέλτιον λέοντα ἄρχειν ἐλάφων ἢ περ λεόντων ἔλαφον.

Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς οὕτω διασωθεὶς καὶ διασώσας τὸ στρατόπεδον πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Χάλεπ χώρας πανστρατιᾷ κατεσκήνωσε. Πρὸ τοῦ καταβῆναι δὲ τοῦ ἵππου τοὺς τε Σκύθας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ὀλίγους εἰς προνομήν τῆς χώρας ἀφήσιν. Ὁ δὲ καὶ γέγονε· καὶ ἦχθη πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ζώων πολλῶν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς πολεμίας ἰὼν τριταῖος ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Ἱεράπολιν. Δόκησιν δὲ παρασχόν τὸ ἐκεῖσε 129 στρατιωτικὸν ἐπιθέσεως εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν Ῥωμαίοις | οὐκ ἐθάρρησεν, ἀκροβολισμοῖς δὲ τισι καὶ προπηδήσας τὸν πόλεμον ἀφωσιώσαντο, οἷ τε Ἀραβες δηλαδὴ καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ ὁ τούτων ἑξαρχος Ἀμερτικῆς, εἰς γένος βασιλικὸν ἐν τῇ Περσίδι ἀναφερόμενος. Κατασχὼν μὲν τὴν Ἱεράπολιν χώμασι καὶ τειχομαχίαις καὶ στρατιωτικαῖς ἐπεξελεύσεσι, τὸ ἐπείσακτον δὲ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν δυνάμεων ἐπὶ συμφώνοις γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀόπλους ἀφείξ, μεσάζοντος ἐν πᾶσι τοῦ μεγίστου Πέτρου τοῦ Λιβελλίστου, ἀνδρὸς

100 Also Ausinalios, identified as Afshin ibn Bakji, one of the Sultan Alp Arslan's most effective warriors, who first appears in the year 1065–1066; his activities and his success against the hapless anonymous commander stationed in Melitene are discussed in Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 116–117, 120–122, 139.

101 A saying attributed to Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great, among others, but of no certain provenance.

102 Today Manbij, about 80 km northeast of Aleppo.

7. He had previously detached a sizeable unit with its own commander and sent it to Melitene to stand guard over the east | and counter the enemy making 128 attacks in that area under the command of a cunning and warlike man by the name of Apsinalios.¹⁰⁰ This is why the emperor transferred the best soldiers from his own army to this particular commander, including the Franks, men who delight in war and bloodshed. But since in his fear of failure the man in charge did not acquit himself honorably in dealing with the situation—for he had a different cast of mind and was cautious with regard to what lay ahead—the war became practically twice as hard for the emperor, given that he had deprived himself of a force of such quality. Many a time the enemy challenged the commander's soldiers to venture out from the town of Melitene, and when they saw that the latter took no notice of them, but stayed put as though in a torpor, they made their way stealthily through close country and made so bold as to attack the imperial army. Coming upon a tiny unit as it went out to buy grain, they hastened to attack it. These men did not stand their ground but fled without turning around. Had the emperor not swiftly arrived to rescue them and put a halt to the enemy attack, it is likely that neither a small nor an inconsiderable portion of the soldiers would have perished. If someone lays it down as a general rule that the results, be they for the better or the worse, are to be laid at the feet of the commanders, he is not all that far from the truth or an accurate assessment. The proverb quoted by the ancients puts it well, "Better a lion command deer than a deer command lions."¹⁰¹

8. But the emperor, having thus brought himself and his army safe through, pitched camp with his entire army on the doorstep of Aleppo. Before he even dismounted from his horse he sent the Scythians and quite a few of the Romans out foraging through the region. This took place, and a great number of men as well as many women and animals were collected. Proceeding from there through enemy territory he arrived at Hierapolis¹⁰² on the third day. Although the army there gave the impression of mounting an attack, they did not dare close with the Romans in hand to hand fighting, | contenting themselves with 129 skirmishing from afar with projectiles and forays, I mean the Arabs and Turks there and their commander Amertikes,¹⁰³ who traced his ancestry to the royal line in Persia. After capturing Hierapolis with earthen ramps, siege warfare, and assaults by the soldiers, the emperor released the foreign mercenaries of the enemy army without their armour and weapons in accordance with the agreements made. The intermediary in all the negotiations was the *magistros* Peter

103 The man mentioned above in section III.3.

τήν τε τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων παιδείαν ἄκρως ἐξησκημένου, θρέμματος καὶ γεννήματος ὄντος τῆς Ἀντιοχείων πόλεως καὶ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα ἐν αὐτῇ διενεγκόντων ἐνὸς (...).

Ὁ δὲ ἀμηνῶς τοῦ Χάλεπ, ἦτοι τῆς Βερροίας, συνάψας τοῖς τε Ἀραψι καὶ τοῖς Τούρκοις καὶ δύνανται ἀδρᾶν συστησάμενος εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μαχέσασθαι διεσκέπτετο. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἔνδον ὄντος τῆς ἐαλωκυίας πόλεως πυργομαχοῦντός τε ἔτι ἐν μέρει κατὰ τὸ ὑπόλοιπον λείψανον τῆς πυργοκρατείας παρατάξεις δύο, διατειχίζουσαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, εἰς φυλακὴν κατετάχθησαν. Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν πεδία μέγιστα, ἐν οἷς τινες τῶν Σαρακηνῶν διεφάνησαν ἰππαζόμενοι, καὶ πλὴν γηλόφων οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπερανεστηκὸς εἰς ὅρος μέγα, καυσώδης δὲ ὁ τόπος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ χλιαρόν, μεταλαμβάνον τῆς τοῦ ἀέρος φλεγμονῆς τε καὶ αὐσεως. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι κατὰ μικρὸν ταῖς ἱσταμέναις πλησιάζοντες παρατάξουν αὐθις ἀνθυπέστρεφον—ἀπὴν γὰρ ἔτι ὁ ἀμηνῶς Μαχμούτιος—ἀκροβολισμοὺς δὲ ποιησάμενοι παρελάσαι μὲν τινες τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατηνάγκασαν καὶ δις τοῦτο καὶ τρις πεποιήκασιν. Ἐν ἐτέρᾳ δὲ συμβολῇ οὐκέτι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μικρὸν ἐπεδίωξαν καὶ ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ παρελάσαντες αὐτοὺς τῷ τάγματι τῶν στρατηλατῶν εἰς χεῖρας συνερράγησαν, καὶ παρελθόντες τὸ τῶν σχολῶν τάγμα πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνείλον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς φυγεῖν αἰσχροῦς κατηνάγκασαν, ἐν δεξιᾷ καταλιπόντες τὸ τῶν σχολῶν σύνταγμα. 130 Ὅπερ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἦτταν ὁρῶν οὐδόλως μετεκινήθη τῆς στάσεως, ἀλλ' ὡς μηδενὸς καινοῦ γεγονότος ἀτρεμοῦν ἴστατο, ὥσανεῖ ἐδεδοίκει μὴ φωραθεῖν ἐκείσε ἱστάμενον, καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ λαθεῖν μηχανώμενον. Ὑποστρέψαντες δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι ταχὺ καὶ τοῦτο κατηγωνίσαντο, ἀνηρηκότες μὲν πολλοὺς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν κατακλείσαντες καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τούτων στρατηγικῶς ἀφελόμενοι. Πολοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τραχηλοκοπήσαντες εἰς ἔνδειγμα τοῖς Χαλεπίταις ἀπέστειλαν.

Θαυμάζειν δὲ ἄξιον ἦν, ὅτι τοσαύτης καταφορᾶς καὶ ἥττης γενομένης Ῥωμαϊκῆς οὐδεὶς τῶν λοιπῶν λόχων τε καὶ λοχαγῶν εἰς ἄμυναν διηρέθιστο, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔνδον καθήμενοι, ὡς διὰ φιλίας γῆς ἐνσκηνοῦμενοι, ἰδιοπραγεῖν ἐσπούδαζον, καὶ κίνησις ψυχῆς καὶ προθυμία καὶ ἀγωνία τούτοις τὸ παράπαν οὐδεμία ἦν. Ἀλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔνδον ὦν τῆς πόλεως, τοῦτο πυθόμενος ἠνιάθη μὲν οὐ μετρίως, ἐπανελθὼν δὲ συντόμως μετὰ τῶν συνόντων Καππαδοκῶν ἴασιν εὐρεῖν τῷ πταίσματι ἐμχανᾶτο. Ἡ γὰρ νῦν ἐκείνη πάντας εἶχεν ἐν ἐλπίσιν οὐκ ἀγαθαῖς, καθότι καὶ τὸ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων

104 Noted by Cheynet as one of the few members of the Syriac élite (and the only one named) in Byzantine service along the eastern frontier during the eleventh century (in contrast with the many Arabs and Armenians): *Pouvoir et contestations*, 395–396.

Libelliosios,¹⁰⁴ who had reached a high standard of learning in both Assyrian and Roman culture since he had been born and raised in the city of Antioch and was one of the leading citizens there.

9. The emir of Aleppo, that is to say Berroia, had joined with the Arabs and Turks, and after assembling a considerable force sought to close with the emperor and give battle. Since the emperor was inside the captured city, still fighting for a tower against the remaining holdouts of the tower's garrison, two formations making a barrier against the enemy were deployed as a guard. There are vast plains in the area of Hierapolis where some Saracens on horseback had made an appearance, and apart from some hills there is nothing that has risen to the height of a great mountain. The place is searingly hot, while the water is lukewarm, taking after the warmth and the extreme heat of the air. In small groups the enemy approached the formations arrayed for battle and then wheeled away—for the emir Machmoutios was not on hand¹⁰⁵—and after they had rained arrows from afar they forced some of the Romans to ride out after them. Two or three times the enemy did this. In the next clash, however, they did not chase the Romans back for a short distance and then halt, but charging after them they burst upon the *tagma* of the *Stratelatai* in hand to hand fighting. Pressing on to the *tagma* of the *Scholai* they killed many of them and forced the rest into a disgraceful flight while leaving a squadron of the *Scholai* intact on the right. As it watched the defeat of the Romans, | this unit stirred not an inch from its position but stood perfectly still as though nothing out of the ordinary had happened, contriving in every way to escape notice as if it feared that it might be detected standing there. The enemy swiftly returned and attacked this unit. After killing a great number they penned the rest inside the encampment and by this strategy carried off their standards. After hacking off the heads of many soldiers, they sent these as a token to the inhabitants of Aleppo.

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10. It was something worthy of wonder that after the Romans suffered so overwhelming a defeat, none of the surviving troops or their officers was roused to mount a defence; instead, everyone sat inside as though encamped in friendly territory and went about his own business. There was not a hint of tribulation, initiative, or anguish among them at all. But when the emperor who was inside the city learned of this reversal, he was greatly upset and arriving promptly with the Cappadocian soldiers who were accompanying him he set his mind to finding a way to remedy this poor showing. That night saw every-

105 Machmoud ibn Nasr ibn Salih, who became emir of Aleppo in 1065; see Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 117–120.

πεζόν, περί τὴν τάφρον διανυκτερεύειν ἐπιταχθέν, ἀποστασίαν ἐμελέτησεν. Οὕτω δ' ἡμέρα προήει καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τὸν χάρακα περιέζωσαν. Τὸ γὰρ συμβὰν ὁ τοῦ Χάλεπ ἄρχων ἀναμαθὼν μεθ' ὅλης ἤκε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως ὡς αὐτοβοεὶ αἰρήσων τὸν βασιλέα. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔνδον τῆς σκηνῆς διαγράφων τὸν πόλεμον περὶ τρίτην ὥραν ἀθρόον ἐξεγλήλυθεν ἔφιππος. Εἰκοστήν ἤνυε τηνικαῦτα ὁ Νοέμβριος μὴν τῆς ζ' ἰνδικτιῶνος. Βοῆς βυκίνων ἢ σαλπίγγων ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς σημείου μὴ δοθέντος τρανῶς, τῶν δὲ σημαίων τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐξαρθεισάν καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξιούσης συντεταγμένης ἤρξαντο οἱ πολέμιοι περὶ μέρος ἐν ἀθροίζεσθαι, οὗ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἶδον ἐπελαύνοντας, καὶ ὁ ἀγὼν ὅσος καὶ ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔκβασις οἷα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐναπέστακτο. Τῶν δὲ κατὰ
 131 μέτωπον τὸ ἐνυάλιον ἀλαλαξάντων πολλοὺς | τῶν ἐναντίων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατηγωνίσαντο καὶ διεχειρίσαντο. Ἐξορμήσαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ πλήθους φυγῇ τούτων ἀνυπόστατος γίνεται.

Οἱ δὲ κατόπιν τούτων ἐλαύνοντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνείλον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ ζωγρήσαντες ἔλαβον. Τῆς δὲ διώξεως μὴ γενομένης μέχρι πολλοῦ μεγάλης εὐκληρίας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διήμαρτον καὶ νίκης καλλίστης ἐξεστερήθησαν καὶ αὐχλήματος μεγίστου ἐξήστόχησαν. Τῶν γὰρ ἀραβικῶν ἵππων ταχυδρομούντων μὲν, μὴ εὐψυχούντων δὲ μὴδ' ἐγκαρτερούντων τῷ δρόμῳ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἐκείνων ἀτονίαν οἰκίαν εὐτονίαν ποιήσασθαι. Ἐπιστρέψαντες δὲ τοὺς ῥυτῆρας ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος βασιλικοῦ ἀμβλεῖαν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν νίκην ἀπειργάσαντο, κορεσθέντες μόνῃ τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀποτροπῇ, μεγάλην εὐτυχίαν καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ βασιλέως λογιζομένου, ὅτι τέως οἱ ἀνάλκιδες ἀνερρώσθησαν καὶ οἱ νεκροί, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐζώωθησαν.

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸν χάρακα μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀποσόβησιν ἔγνω τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς Ἱεραπόλεως ἐνοικίσαι. Καταστήσας οὖν τὸν Φαρασμάνην ἐκείνον βέστην τὸν Ἀποκάπην, ἐξ Ἰβήρων τὸ γένος ἔλκοντα, χώραν δέδωκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνακαλέσασθαι τε τὴν ἡτταν καὶ ἀντίπαλα φέρεσθαι. Καὶ ἔως μὲν ἑστρατοπεδευμένος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς διεδείκνυτο, κατὰ χώραν ἐδόκουν μένειν οἱ Ἀραβες ὡς δ' ἀναστήσας τὴν στρατιάν εὐθὺ τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ Ἀζᾶς ἤλαυνεν, ἤρξαντο σποράδες ἐκ διαστήματος κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τὴν οὐραγίαν πολλὰκις ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοὺς τὰ σιτία μετακομίζοντας κακοῦντες ἐλύπουν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ λόχου τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ἐν τῷ λεληθότι ποιοῦμενοι. Καταφραξάμενος δὲ ἐκηβόλοις καὶ πελτασταῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον τεθωρακισμένος τῷ φρουρίῳ προσ|βάλλει Ἀζᾶς μεθ' ὅλης τῆς στρατιᾶς, εἰς ὑποδοχὴν στρατοῦ μαθὼν εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐπιτήδειον. Ὡς δὲ προσεγγίσας αὐτῷ ἐρυμνότατον εἶδε καὶ
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106 About 8:00 a.m.

107 November 20, 1068.

108 Although Diogenes may have been right to err on the side of caution, since feigned flight was a common tactic among the Arabs and Turks.

109 Pharasmanes, the brother of the aforementioned Basil Apokapes (section 11.5), was of Georgian or Armeno-Georgian descent.

one in low spirits, so much so that the Armenian infantry contingent, which had been ordered to spend the night manning the trench around the camp, considered going over to the enemy. The day had not yet dawned before the enemy encircled the camp. The ruler of Aleppo, upon learning what had happened, had come with his entire army to capture the emperor at a single blow. The emperor, who had been in his tent drawing up his battle plan, suddenly emerged on horseback at about the third hour.¹⁰⁶ The month of November had by this time reached its twentieth day, in the seventh indiction.¹⁰⁷ The call of the trumpets and bugles and any other signal was given faintly. The army's standards were raised and as the host moved out in battle array the enemy began to mass on the one side where they saw the Romans advancing. The magnitude of the contest and the nature of the outcome permeated their souls. When the men in the front rank raised the war-cry, | the Romans prevailed in the struggle and killed many of the enemy. Once the remaining multitude came rushing out, the enemy were completely routed.

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11. Those pressing after them killed a great number and took not a few prisoner. But because the pursuit did not last a long time, the Romans missed a glorious opportunity and were deprived of a magnificent victory and failed to achieve a most noteworthy exploit. Although the Arab horses are very swift, they do not bear up well or have great stamina when running, and yet the Romans did not wish to turn this weakness to their own advantage. Drawing in the reins at the emperor's command, they took the edge off their victory and rested content with simply having put the enemy to flight.¹⁰⁸ The emperor reckoned this a great success in itself, inasmuch as the feeble had been reinvigorated and the dead, so to speak, had been brought back to life.

12. Upon his return to the camp after driving off the enemy, the emperor decided to occupy the citadel of Hierapolis. By installing the *vestes* Pharasmanes Apokapes, who traced his lineage from the Iberians,¹⁰⁹ he gave the enemy room to recover from their defeat and to organise their resistance. As long as it was evident that the Roman army was maintaining its base of operations, the Arabs thought it best to stay in their own land, but the moment he broke camp and marched the army to the fortress of Azas, scattered parties began to appear at a distance, in their usual manner, and in their frequent attacks on the rear of the column and their harassment of supply detachments they caused real trouble to the Romans, since when least expected they would make their attacks in raids or from ambush. The emperor screened his army with long-range archers and light infantrymen, and thus protected he advanced with his entire force on the fortress of Azas, | a place which he had learned was well suited to accommodate his army. As he approached it, he saw that it was well fortified and very secure, set on the spine of a hill, enclosed by double

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όχυρώτατον, ἐπ' ἀκρωρείας λόφου ἰστάμενον, τείχεσι διπλοῖς περιεζωσμένον καὶ πέτραις ὥσπερ γεγομφωμένον καὶ λιθίνην τὴν ἄνοδον πρὸς τὴν πύλιν ἀποφερόμενον, μικρόν τε ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον καὶ μὴ ἐξαρκούν πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν τοσούτου στρατοῦ, ἀναζεύξας εἰς τόπον ἐπήξατο τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἔνθα τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφθονώτερον ἔρρεεν.

Ἀναστάς δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὥρμησε πρὸς τὰ τῆς Αὐσονίτιδος ὄρια καὶ πυρπολῆσας χωρίον μέγιστον, Κάτμα λεγόμενον, τῷ ἀμηρᾷ τοῦ Χάλεπ ἀφωρισμένον ἐκ παλαιοῦ, εἰς ἔτερον χωρίον κατέλυσε, Τερχολὰ κατονομαζόμενον. Κοπτομένου δὲ τοῦ χάρακος καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἰσταμένου κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος, Ἀραβες δύο λαθόντες κατόπιν τῆς ἀκρωρείας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀπὸ ρυτήρων ἐλάσαντες δύο τῶν πεζῶν ταῖς λόγχαις ἀναιροῦσιν. Ὁ βασιλεὺς δὲ τούτους θεασάμενος πρῶτος διανέστησε τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς δίωξιν. Οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες ἐξαισίῳ δρόμῳ τῶν ἵππων εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναστάντες εὐθὺ τοῦ Ἀρτάχ ἐβάδισαν, κατεῖχον δὲ τοῦτο Σαρακηνοὶ τὸν αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐξελάσαντες. Πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν φεύγουσιν οἱ τοῦτο φυλάσσοντες καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀνασφύζεται πόλισμα. Φρουρὰν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ βαλὼν καὶ σιτήσεις ἀποχρώσας ἐναποθέμενος, πάντα τὰ τῷ καιρῷ πρόσφορα διετάξατο.

133 Ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοίνυν τοῦ βασιλέως ἤρξαντο Ῥωμαῖοι πολεμίους ἀνοφθαλμίζειν καὶ πρὸς γενναιότητος ἀναφέρειν λόγον καὶ συνίστασθαι πρὸς ἀντίθεσιν, ἐπεὶ τὰ γε κατὰ τοὺς προσεχῶς βασιλεύσαντας, πλὴν ἐπιδείξεως μόνης καὶ πλήθους συναγωγῆς, ἐν οὐδενὶ καρτερῶς πρὸς μάχην συνέρραξαν, ὥς εἶναι δῆλον ὅτι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἐστὶν ὡς ἐπίπαν τὸ κατορθούμενον ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς | πράγμασι. Κάκειθεν μὴ δυνηθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀπελθεῖν—προκατείργαστο γὰρ λιμῷ τε καὶ κακώσει πολλῇ—ὑπερβὰς αὐλῶνας καὶ κλεισούρας τινὰς ἀδιεξοδεύτους εἰς πόλιν τῆς Κιλικίας λεγομένην Ἀλέξανδρον καταντᾷ κάκεισε τὸν χάρακα πῆγνυσι· καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος ὑπερβὰς πανστρατιᾷ εἰσβάλλει τῇ Ῥωμαίων. Ἐντυχόντες δ' ἀθρόον τόποις ψυχροῖς ἐξ ἄγαν ἀλεινῶν καὶ θερμῶν πολλῆς μεταβολῆς ἦσθοντο· διὸ καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον καὶ ζῶα πολλὰ ἐναπέψυξαν. Ἐξιόντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τι χωρίον τῆς τοῦ Ποδανδοῦ κλεισούρας, Γυτάριον κατονομαζόμενον, ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ Ἀμορίου λαφυραγωγίαν καὶ φόνον ἀνδρῶν ἀμύθητον. Κατεσκηνωκυίας δὲ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Χαλκῆως σταθμῷ ὁ ἐν Μελιτηνῇ κρατῶν τοῦ στρατοῦ οὐδόλως αὐτῷ προσβαλεῖν ἠθέλησεν, ἔχων καὶ ταῦτα τὴν στρατιάν ἐν τῷ τοῦ Τζαμανδοῦ συνηθροισμένην πόλιστατι. Ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἀνιαιθεὶς καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς βοηθῆσαι τῷ πράγματι, τὰ

walls and built as though from stone blocks, allowing access by a stone road leading up to the gate. Not much water flowed there, not nearly enough to supply so large an army, so after moving on to another place he pitched camp where the water flowed in abundance.

13. From there he resumed his march and set out for the borders of the Roman Empire. After burning a very large village by the name of Katma, which had for a long time belonged to the emir of Aleppo, he put in at another village called Terchola. While the camp ditch was being dug and the emperor was standing on the righthand section, two Arabs who had been lurking behind the ridge came charging at a full gallop and killed two of the infantrymen with their lances. The emperor was the first to catch sight of them and ordered his soldiers to give chase, but thanks to the exceptional speed of their horses the two men reached safety in their own camp first. Carrying on from there the Romans headed directly to Artach, which the Saracens had been holding ever since they drove out the *strategos*. However, the men guarding the place fled and the town that was his to begin with returned to the emperor's control. After leaving a garrison in the place and stockpiling sufficient provisions, he made all the arrangements necessary to the situation there.

14. So it was that during the reign of this emperor the Romans began to stand up and face their enemies, to revert to their old standard of valour, and to unite in resistance, since during the reigns of the preceding emperors, apart from a mere show of force or mustering a huge multitude, they did not fight hard against anyone in battle. From this it is clear that, as a rule, the capable handling of all matters lies with the man in charge. | From this place the emperor was unable to depart for Antioch—it was already suffering from famine and great hardship—but made his way through the defiles and some of the impassable *kleisourai* and came to a town in Cilicia called Alexandron¹¹⁰ where he pitched camp. After crossing the Tauros range he entered Roman territory with his entire army. Coming all of a sudden from exceedingly torrid and hot climes into cold regions they felt the difference keenly, and for this reason many men died and a great number of animals perished. As the emperor was setting out for a village named Gytarion in the *kleisoura* of Podandos, he heard that Amorion had been pillaged and an untold number of the men massacred. Although the enemy encampment had been set up in the base at Chalkeus, the army commander in Melitene showed not the slightest inclination to attack it, even though he had the army at the fortress of Tzamandos fully mobilised. The emperor was disturbed by these reports but could do nothing to help in

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110 Better known as Alexandretta (today Iskenderun), about 40 km due north of Antioch.

κατὰ τὸν στρατόν, ὡς ἐνὴν, δεξιῶς διαθέμενος, εἰς παραχειμασίαν τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν ἀποστείλας, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἵετο, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου μηνὸς καταλαβὼν ἐν αὐτῷ.

134 Διαγαγὼν τοῖνυν ἐν αὐτῷ χρόνον τινὰ καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς διοικήσεις, ὡς ἐνόν, διοικησάμενος καὶ τιμὰς καὶ δεξιώσεις εἷς τινὰς τῶν συγκλητικῶν ποιησάμενος καὶ τὰς ἐτησίους δωρεὰς διανειμόμενος καὶ οὐδὲ τὰς πασχαλίου ἡμέρας περιμένοντας εἰς τὸν ἀντίπερα τῆς πόλεως | οἶκον τῶν Ἑρῶν ἀπέπλευσεν. Ἐπισυνέβη γάρ τι καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς ἐκστρατεῖαν ἀναγκαίως καλοῦν αὐτόν.

Ἄνῃρ γάρ τις Λατίνος, Κρισπίνος τὴν κλήσιν, ἐξ Ἰταλίας τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθὼν πρὸς τὴν ἐφ' ἧς ἀπεστάλη χειμᾶσιν ἐκείσε. Δόξας δὲ μὴ τιμηθῆναι ἀξίως ὧν ἡλπίζεν, ἀποστασίαν ἐσχόπησε καὶ αὐτίκα τοὺς συναντῶντας φορολόγους τε καὶ λοιποὺς σκυλεύει καὶ διαρπάζει, φόνον δὲ Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα εἰργάσατο. Πολλοὶ δὲ τούτῳ πρὸς μάχην συστάντες ἡττήθησαν. Ἐν δὲ τῷ θέματι τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν παραχειμάζων ὁ βεσπάρης Σαμουήλ ὁ Ἀλουσιάνος, ὁ Βούλγαρος, ἀδελφὸς ὧν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γυναικός, ἦν ἔτι ἰδιωτεύων ἡγάγετο, μετὰ τῶν ἐσπερίων πέντε ταγματῶν προσβάλλει τῷ Κρισπίνῳ ἐξ ἐφόδου κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν μεγάλην ἡμέραν τῆς Ἀναστάσεως, τοῦ Πάσχα φημί. Συναισθήσεως δὲ γενομένης τοῖς Φράγκοις φεύγουσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ φόνος τούτων γίνεται πολὺς καὶ ζωγρία ἀμύθητος. Ὅμως δὴ οὖν φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς διατεθεὶς πάντας ἀφήκε, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς πληγέντας νοσοκομείσθαι παρέδωκεν. Ἐν τῷ Δορυλαίῳ δὲ γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς πρεσβεῖαν τοῦ Κρισπίνου ἐδέξατο, ὁμολογίαν τε τῆς δουλώσεως καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν τῆς ἀντιστάσεως φέρουσιν καὶ ἀπλῶς ἀμνηστίαν αἰτουμένην κακῶν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένων εἴτε ἐκόντος εἴτε καὶ ἄκοντος. Ὁ δὲ ὑπήκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἐξητήσατο, κατεπράξατο τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γενναῖον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἐπίδοξον καταιδούμενος. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀποστασίας καιρῷ Τούρκων ἐντυχὼν πληθύϊ πολλῇ μεγάλας ἀνδραγαθίας ἐκ χειρὸς ἀπειργάσατο. Καὶ προϊόντι τῷ βασιλεῖ δουλοπρεπῶς ἀπαντᾷ καὶ αὐθις ὡς εὐνοὺς συνείπετο ὀλίγους τινὰς στρατιώτας ἐπαγόμενος· εἰάκει γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν τῷ τοῦ Μαυροκάστρου πολίσματι, οὗ τὴν κατὰσχεσιν ἐποιήσατο, ἐν τῷ Ἀρμενικῷ ἐπὶ λόφῳ κειμένῳ ὑψηλοῦ. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ὑπονοηθεὶς ὡμὸν τι | διαπράξασθαι κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φυλὴν, μὴ

111 Returning to his theme of discord between Diogenes and his wife the empress, Zonaras (XVIII.11.29–30) adds the following at this point: “... he came back with a more arrogant attitude, as though he had set most matters aright, not only towards other people but towards the empress herself, who was troubled upon seeing her hopes reversed and was pained at heart, unable to bear his reproaches.”

112 The emperor's second campaign (April–autumn 1069); Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 145–149.

113 Robert Crispin (Crépin), a Norman warrior active in southern Italy in 1066 who entered Byzantine service shortly afterwards, taking command of a Frankish contingent that likely included his successor, Roussel de Bailleul.

the matter. After tending properly to the needs of his army, as far as possible, he dismissed the majority of them to their winter quarters while he himself proceeded to Byzantium, which he reached towards the end of the month of January.¹¹¹

15. He spent some time there looking after political matters, as well as he could, according honours and receptions to members of the Senate, and distributing the yearly gifts. He did not stay for Easter | but sailed to the residence of Hieria on the shore opposite the City. For something else had occurred that compelled him to head out on campaign.¹¹²

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16. A certain Latin from Italy, by the name of Crispin,¹¹³ had gone over to the emperor's service and been sent to the east to spend the winter there. Believing that he had not been given the due rewards which he had expected, he considered rebelling and began to rob and steal from the tax collectors and others whose path he crossed, although he did not murder any Romans. Many who engaged him in battle were defeated. Spending the winter in the theme of the Armeniakon was the *vestarches* Samuel Alousianos, a Bulgarian,¹¹⁴ who was the brother of the emperor's wife (whom Romanos had married while still a private citizen).¹¹⁵ With his five western *tagmata* he made a sudden attack on Crispin on the very day of the Resurrection, that is to say Easter.¹¹⁶ When the Franks became aware of this, the Romans fled and there was a great slaughter of them and an untold number of prisoners. Crispin nevertheless dealt with them humanely and let them all go, and, what was more, he allowed the wounded to receive medical treatment. When the emperor was at Dorylaion he received an embassy from Crispin presenting an offer of submission and an explanation for his rebellion, and seeking a blanket pardon for the wrongs he had committed either willingly or against his will. The emperor agreed to this and granted everything that he asked for out of respect for the man's courage and his reputation on the battlefield. For during his rebellion, Crispin had fallen in with a great multitude of Turks and performed valiant deeds at close quarters. In all humility he came to meet the emperor as he was proceeding on the march and accompanied him as a loyal follower bringing along a few of his own soldiers. He had left the others in the fortress of Maurokastron, of which he had become master, which sat on a lofty hill in the theme of the Armeniakon. After a short time he was suspected of devising some wicked plot | in a manner typical of his

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114 He was the grandson of the Bulgarian tzar Ivan Vladislav (1015–1018) and the son of Alousianos who came over to the Byzantine side during the revolt of Peter Deljan in 1040–1041.

115 The Christian name of Romanos Diogenes' first wife is not known.

116 April 12, 1069.

συναιρομένην αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς βουλομένοις—καὶ γὰρ ἄπιστον καὶ ἄπληστον τὸ γένος τῶν Φράγκων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἀχάριστον καὶ μικροῖς πταίσμασι μεγάλας ἐπεγείρον αἰτίας καὶ ταραχὰς καὶ ἀποστασίας, αἷς ὡς ἐντρυφήματι γάννυται—ἀπεπέμφθη τοῦ στρατοπέδου μὴ καθαρώς μὲν ἐλεγχθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον παρὰ Νεμίτζου τινὸς ἐπισήμου κατηγορηθεῖς. Οἱ δὲ ἐταῖροι τούτου ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι δεινοπαθήσαντες, ἄραντες ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ τοῖς ἐκείσε εἰργάσαντο.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ πλήθους ἦκεν εἰς Καισάρειαν Τούρκων πλῆθος πολὺ μαθὼν λεηλατεῖν τὴν χώραν, ἀπέστειλε μέρος τι τῆς στρατιάς κατ' αὐτῶν. Μηδὲν δὲ ἀνύσαν, ἀλλὰ φεύγον ὑποδεξάμενος συντεταγμένως τῆς πρόσω φερούσης εἶχετο. Μήπω δὲ μήτε τάφρου μήτε τῆς σκηνώσεως γενομένης ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμιοι τὰ ἐρυμνότατα τῶν τόπων κατέχοντες καὶ τὰς λοφιάς. Βοῆς δὲ γενομένης, μὴ ἐκδεδωκότος τοῦ βασιλέως ἑαυτὸν ἀναπαύσει, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐνυάλιον σαλπίσαντος προῆσαν κατὰ τάξιν αἱ φάλαγγες. Ἀρθέντων δὲ τῶν σημείων προέκυψαν μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων πολλοί, προλαβόντα δὲ τῶν ταγμάτων ἐν μὲν τῶν Λυκαόνων λεγόμενον, ἕτερον δὲ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἀριθμῶν καὶ τοῦ συνήθους θρασύτερον κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐλάσαντα πρὸς φυγὴν εὐθὺς ἀπιδεῖν κατηνάγκασαν. Προβιβάζοντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν λοιπὴν στρατιάν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς φεύγουσι συνδιέφυγε.

136 Παριόντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῦ μισθοφορικοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν, τῶν Οὐζων φημί, λόχος τουρκικὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις προσεπέλασεν· οὓς δεξάμενοι οἱ περιλειφθέντες εἰς φυλακὴν στρατιῶται, πρὸ πάντων δ' οἱ Φράγκοι, καὶ ἀγχεμάχως συμπλακέντες καὶ ἱκανῶς ἀνθαμιλληθέντες ἐτρέψαντο, μηδενὸς τῶν ἱσταμένων ταγμάτων ῥωμαιοῦς τοῖς Φράγκοις μέχρι καὶ ἀπλῆς ὁρμῆς παραβοηθήσαντος. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὑπέστρεψε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς διώξεως πρὸς ἐσπέραν· περὶ δειλὴν γὰρ συνέστη ὁ πόλεμος. Τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον δημοσίᾳ καθίσας τοὺς ἐαλωκότας τῶν πολεμίων τῇ

117 Skylitzes' compressed wording confuses the meaning of this passage. What Attaleiates says at greater length (*History* 18.5) is that Crispin's accusers claimed that he was delaying a move against the emperor only because most of his followers were not yet with him. Crispin was tarred with the same brush as all Normans, who were proverbially untrustworthy in Byzantine eyes, but in Attaleiates' opinion Romanos Diogenes was wrong not to trust a man whose potentially useful leadership and military skills had so recently been on display: see Magdalino, *Byzantine Background*, 29–30.

118 As Kaldellis points out (*Streams of Gold*, 257), Skylitzes here speaks not from prejudice but from bitter experience with the Frankish and Norman mercenaries. Their *modus operandi* involved provoking quarrels with their employer, seizing his lands and assets, setting up a local protection racket to extort money, gaining recognition and legitimacy, and setting up their own realm. Robert Guiscard and Roussel de Bailleul followed this script to the letter.

119 Crispin was in fact imprisoned in Abydos for the duration of Diogenes' reign. This dispute did not augur well for the emperor's relations with the foreign contingents in his army, as

people, since his followers had not joined him in his intended submission¹¹⁷—for the race of the Franks is treacherous and greedy, very ungrateful and quick in minor setbacks to stir up blame and trouble and revolts, in which they take delight as if they were pleasures¹¹⁸—and he was sent away from the encampment.¹¹⁹ He was not convicted on clear evidence but had merely been accused by a prominent *Nemitzos*.¹²⁰ His companions were much aggrieved at this incident, and setting out from the fortress they overran Mesopotamia and did great harm to the inhabitants.

17. When the emperor came to Kaisareia with a large force, he learned that a great many Turks were pillaging the area, and he sent a detachment of his army out against them. As he continued his advance with his army in formation, he came across this detachment in full retreat and with nothing to show for their efforts. Before the trench and the encampment had been made ready, the enemy appeared, holding the strongest positions and the high ground. The alarm went up, the emperor allowed himself not a moment's rest, and once the trumpeter sounded the signal for battle, the formations moved forward in good order. When the standards were raised, a good number of the enemy sallied forth, but one of the *tagmata* called the Lykaonai, and another from the western *Arithmoi*, anticipated them and attacking the enemy with greater boldness than usual forced them to turn in flight. As the emperor committed his army to the engagement, the remaining body of the enemy took to its heels along with those already in flight.

18. While the soldiers and the contingent of Scythian mercenaries, by whom I mean the Uzes, carried on in pursuit, a Turkish unit of some size approached the Romans. The soldiers left behind as a guard, first and foremost the Franks, met them, and engaging them at close quarters they drove them off after a hard-fought contest. Not a one of the Roman *tagmata* stationed there lent any assistance to the Franks, | even so far as to make a simple charge. In the mean-
time the emperor returned from the pursuit towards evening, for the battle had
taken place during the afternoon. Presiding at a general assembly the next day,

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their disaffection would influence the outcome at Mantzikert. These difficulties may have stemmed from Diogenes' preference for an army recruited internally as opposed to one relying on foreign mercenaries. Crispin was quick to seek revenge on the emperor, for he quickly sided with the Doukai in their *coup d'état* after Diogenes' defeat (below, v.19). See Shepard, "Uses of the Franks," 277, 297–298; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 75 (no. 92), 348.

120 *Nemitzos* refers to Germanic mercenaries; it is of Slavic origin and survives in the Russian words for "German," *nemets*, *nemetskii*, literally the "dumb ones," i.e. foreigners who spoke another language. Anna Komnene also uses this term: *Alexiad* 11.9.4.

τελευταία ψήφω παρέδωκε, μηδενὸς τὸ παράπαν φεισάμενος μήτ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμό-
νος αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ πολλῶν λύτρων ἑαυτὸν ὦνιον ποιήσασθαι ἐπηγγέλλετο.

Τριημερεύσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ, τῷ προτερήματι τούτῳ κόρον λαβὼν πολλοῖς ἄδειαν δέδωκε τῶν ἐναντίων ἀποφυγῆς, ὥς μηδὲ τῆς λείας ἀποσχέσθαι. Καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐκείθεν κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐβάδιζε. Στρατοπεδευσάμενος δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος ἡμερῶν δύο τῆς Μελιτηνῆς ἐβουλεύετο μοῖραν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ μερισάμενος ἀφεῖναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιτείχισμα, αὐτὸς δὲ ἅμα παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὑποστρέψαι πρὸς τὰ βασιλεια. Ἀγεννοὺς δὲ τῆς βουλῆς δοξάσης καὶ ἀσυμφόρου μεταθέμενος εὐθὺ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἐβάδισεν· ἦσαν γὰρ περὶ τὰς ὄχθας αὐτοῦ ἐσκηνωμένοι οἱ πολέμιοι, οἱ καὶ αὐτίκα πυθόμενοι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κατ' αὐτῶν κίνησιν ἀνεχώρησαν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺ Ῥωμανοπόλως ἐλαύνων κἀκεῖθεν πρὸς τὸ Χλίατ παραγενέσθαι βουλόμενος ἐν τινι τόπῳ κατασκηνοῖ, καὶ τὸν Φιλάρετον—ἦν δὲ τοῦ τῶν Βραχαμίων γένους—στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀναδείκνυσι· διελὼν γὰρ διχῇ τὸν στρατὸν τὸ ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῷ ἐπιδίδωσιν, ἀνδρὶ στρατιωτικὴν μὲν αὐχοῦντι περιωπὴν, αἰσχροῦ δὲ βίου καὶ ἐπιρρήτου τυγχάνοντι καὶ αἰσχίστως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ βιοτὴν διανύουντι καὶ μαχεσαμένῳ μὲν τοῖς Τούρκοις διαφόρως, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δὲ καταπολεμηθέντι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταφρονηθέντι, οὐ μὴν ἀπεχομένῳ τούτων, ἀλλ' ἐπιτρέχοντι τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ διὰ φιλο-
κερδείας καὶ φιλοδοξίας ὑπόθεσιν.

137 Τῶν δὲ βορειοτέρων μερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπελάβετο δι' εὖρεσιν χιόνος καὶ ὑδάτων ψυχρῶν· ἄκρατῶς γὰρ εἶχε τούτων τὸ σῶμα κατὰ πολὺ διαθερμαινόμενος. Διελθὼν δὲ διὰ τραχειῶν καὶ δυσβάτων τόπων εἰς τινα τόπον λεγόμενον | Ἀνθίας κατήντησε· ποηφόρος δὲ ὁ τόπος καὶ σιτοφόρος καὶ ψυχαγωγία οὐ μικρὰ τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καταί-
ρουσι καὶ ὅσον ὁμφαλὸς ἐκεῖνος τῆς γῆς. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τὸν Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος, τὸ ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενον Μούτζαρον, ὑπερβάς εἰς τὴν Κελτζηνὴν λεγομένην χώραν κατήντησε, τὸ δεῦτερον διαβάς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, παραρρέοντα καὶ διαιροῦντα τὸ τε ὄρος καὶ τὴν Κελτζηνὴν ὥσπερ μεθόριον.

Οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Φιλάρετου καταλειφθέντες στρατιῶται, ἐξ ἐπιφανείας τῶν ἐναν-
τίων πτοίας πλησθέντες καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς κατασεισθέντες, κατόπιν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐβάδι-

121 This is the Armenian warlord Philaretos Brachamios, well known for his career as a soldier in the Byzantine army and potentate holding sway over Cilicia and northern Syria in the years after Mantzikert. No one, not even his fellow Armenians, has a good word to say about him. Zonaras (xviii.12.4) remarks that his name (Philaretos, i.e. "Lover of virtue") was the complete opposite of his character, and the *Timarion* has him condemned to shovelling excrement in the underworld in perpetuity (Baldwin, *Timarion*, 75, 138–139). Yet it seems that Brachamios had earned Diogenes' confidence, perhaps during his time as an officer (*topoteretes*) with the Cappadocian *tagmata*. Little is known of his life before Diogenes appointed him *strategos autokrator* (temporary second in command to the emperor) in 1069. He rebelled upon receiving word of Diogenes' blinding and was placated only when granted high military posts and titles. He was also to be the last *doux* of

he sentenced the enemy prisoners to the supreme penalty, sparing not a one of them, not even their leader himself, even though he offered to buy himself off with a huge ransom.

19. The emperor spent three days in the encampment, but in taking satisfaction in this achievement he took the pressure off many of the enemy as they made their escape, with the result that they did not have to leave their plunder behind. From there he set out once more and proceeded after them. After pitching camp at two days' distance from Melitene, he intended to leave a part of the army which he had detached as a barrier to the enemy while he himself with all his army returned to the imperial capital. When this plan was deemed unworthy and impractical, he changed his mind and made straight for the Euphrates River. The enemy had encamped along its banks, and as soon as they learned that the emperor was on his way in their direction they withdrew. Pushing on directly towards Romanopolis with the intention of turning from there towards Chliat, the emperor set up camp in a certain spot and proclaimed Philaretos—who was from the family of the Brachamioi—*strategos autokrator*.¹²¹ He divided the army into two and gave command of the stronger one to Brachamios, a man who boasted of his military reputation but led a disgraceful and ill-famed life and earned his own livelihood by shameful means. He had distinguished himself in combat against the Turks but had been defeated when it mattered most, for which reason he had come to be held in contempt. Nevertheless, he did not decline the appointment but sought after the command out of his greed and conceit.

20. The emperor made for the northern regions in search of snow and cold waters, for he had an uncontrollable need of these since he had become greatly overheated in body. In his passage through rough and high impassable terrain he came to a place called Anthias. It is a fertile place that yields good harvests and does much to restore the spirits of those who put in there, as though it were the navel of the world. From here he crossed a mountain in the Tauros range, the one called Mounzaros by the locals, and came to the region known as Keltzene after a second crossing of the Euphrates which flows by and divides the mountain from Keltzene like a boundary.

21. Meanwhile, the soldiers who had been left behind with Philaretos were filled with terror at the sudden appearance of the enemy and shaken in spirit.

Antioch. On his career, see Yarnley, "Philaretos," Seibt, "Philaretos Brachamios"; Cheynet, "Les Brachamioi," 390–410 (no. 13); and Koltsida-Makre, "Philaretos Brachamios"; on the precedent he set as a semi-independent warlord over a designated territory, see Pryor and Jeffreys, "Alexios, Bohemond, and Byzantium's Euphrates frontier."

ζον τοὺς τόπους ἀφέντες ὧν τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπετράπησαν, ἕως εἰς τοὺς εἰρημένους Ἀνθίας κατήντησαν. Κάνταῦθα δὲ τῶν πολεμίων φανέντων ἐξ οὐραγίας αἰσχροῦς τὴν φυγὴν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος εἴλοντο καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς τὴν Κελτζηνὴν κατέλαβον ἐκ ποδός. Τῆς δὲ γε τοῦτων ἀποσκευῆς οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐγένοντο κύριοι. Ταῦθ' οὕτως ἀγγελθέντα πολὺν ἐνήκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν ἐναγώνιον θόρυβον, ἐπὶ τε τῇ τῶν οἰκείων ἡττῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων νίκῃ οὐ φορητῶς σκυθρωπάσαντι. Καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως φήμη αὐτοὺς περιδεεῖς κατειργάζετο καὶ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ποσῶς διεκώλυεν, οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ κωλῦον σύμπασαν αὐτοὺς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην καταληίσασθαι καὶ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι. Ὅπισθόρμητοι δὲ γενόμενοι εὐθὺς τοῦ θέματος τῶν Καππαδοκῶν κατὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον ἀκρατῶς ἤλαυνον, καταληιζόμενοι μὲν τὸ προστυχὸν ἐξ ἐφόδου, ἐφορμώντες δὲ πανστρατιᾷ κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Ἰκονίου πολιτείας· ἦν γὰρ πλήθει τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρηστῶν καὶ ζηλωτῶν διαφέρουσα. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν Κελτζηνῇ τοὺς ἀποφυγόντας σποράδας ὑποδεξάμενος, ὥς ἂν μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐξ ἐρήμης ἀπόλωνται, κατόπιν τῶν ἐναντίων ὑποστρέφων ἐγένετο. Καὶ κρίσιν δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καθίσας οὐδενὶ μέρει τὴν νικῶσαν ἀπέδοτο.

διαγνωσθέντος τούτου μόνου ἀκριβῶς ὅτι πλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τὸ συνιστῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τε τὸ προκατειργάσθαι τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐθέλιν καὶ ἐπὶ μικραῖς καὶ ταῖς τυχεύουσιν εὐτυχίαις ἑαυτοῖς καὶ



FIGURE 14 Seal of the *magistros* and *doux* Philaretos Brachamios (ca. 1068–1080). This seal, showing the military saints Demetrios and Eustratios, was probably struck during the reign of Romanos Diogenes who conferred the title of *magistros* upon Brachamios, which he retained until raised to *kouropalates* by Nikephoros III Botanteiates in return for his allegiance.

BZS 1955.1.3396. © DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION, WASHINGTON DC

Deserting the places they had been entrusted to guard, they set off in the emperor's footsteps until they reached the aforementioned Anthias. | When the enemy appeared behind them there, they shamefully chose to flee before exchanging blows and on foot reached the emperor at Keltzene. The enemy took possession of their equipment. The reports of these events brought deep distress to the emperor, because of the defeat of his own men and his unbearable disappointment at the enemy triumph. Had not the emperor's reputation intimidated them and kept them from attacking, there was nothing to stop them from plundering and despoiling that whole part of the world. They reversed their course and, as was their wont, simply swept right through the theme of Cappadocia, plundering anything they came across in swift attacks and descending in full strength on the city of Ikonion, since it stood out for the great number of its population and dwellings and for its enviable wealth. In Keltzene the emperor took charge of the scattered groups of stragglers so that they would not be massacred by Armenians without even putting up a fight, and he turned about in pursuit of the enemy. He sat in judgment between the commander and his men but did not render a verdict against either side. 137

22. The only conclusion that could be established with certainty was that without the presence of the emperor there is nothing to steel the Romans for war, one reason being that the greater part of the army was in poor shape to begin with, the other being the commanders' desire to obtain the highest awards and honours for themselves and their kinsmen in minor and random

138 συγγενέσι μνάσθαι τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀξιομάτων καὶ φιλοτιμιῶν, δι' ἃ | καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπροθύμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸ γενναῖόν τι καὶ ἀνδρικὸν διαπράξασθαι· ὃ παρόντος τοῦ βασιλέως οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι χώραν γίνεσθαι, αὐτοῦ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιστατούντος τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ πάντα καθορώντος ὅσημέραι καὶ τοὺς πονοῦντας ἀναλόγως ἀμειβομένου τῶν καμάτων.

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διὰ τε Κολωνείας καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενιῶν θεμάτων μέχρι Σεβαστείας σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι διελήλυθεν. Ἐκείσε δὲ μαθὼν ὡς οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐπὶ Πισιδίαν καὶ Λυκαονίαν ἐλαύνοντες ὡς εἰς σκοπὸν ἀποτείνουσι τὸ Ἰκόνιον, ὥρμησε καὶ αὐτὸς κατ' οὐρανὸν ἐλαύνειν αὐτῶν μέχρι τῆς λεγομένης Ἡρακλέους κωμποπόλεως. Ἐν ἧ καὶ μαθὼν ἤδη καταστρεψαμένους αὐτοὺς τὸ Ἰκόνιον ἀπάραι, δεδιότας τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπιδίωξιν, ἀπομοιραν μὲν τινα τῶν ταγμάτων ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐνωθησομένην Χατατουρίῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δουκί, ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ πολλὰ ἐπιδειξαμένῳ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς προτερήματα πρότερον δεξαμένῳ τε εἰς Μοψουεστίαν ἀπαντῆσαι τὸ τάχος—ἐκείσε γὰρ προσεδοκῶντο οἱ Τοῦρκοι διελθεῖν—κάκει προσμένειν αὐτοὺς καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ λυμῆνασθαι. Διελθόντες τοῖνυν διὰ τῶν τῆς Σελευκείας ὁρέων εἰς τὴν τῆς Ταρσοῦ πεδιάδα κατηκοντίσθησαν, ἔνθα παρὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων συγκυρηθέντες πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τὴν λείαν ἀπέβαλον. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι μαθόντες τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν Μοψουεστίᾳ παρεμβολήν, μὴδὲ μικρὸν χρονίσαντες, διαναπαύσαντες δὲ ἑαυτοὺς ἐν τῇ Βαλτολιβάδι ὡς ἐνόν, ὥχοντο διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπερβάντες τὸ Σαρβανδικὸν ὄρος καὶ εἰς τὰ τοῦ Χάλεπ σὺν σπουδῇ ἐπελάσαντες ὄρια καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον μόλις ὑπαλύξαντες.

Ἀνία δὲ κατέσχε τὸν βασιλέα ἀπρακτησάντων τῶν ἐν Μοψουεστίᾳ· καταστάς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐθὺς τῆς ἐν Σελευκείᾳ Κλαυδιουπόλεως, ἐπεὶ περὶ τῆς τούτων ἐμεμαθήκει φυγῆς, ἀπογνοὺς ὀπισθόρμητος γέγονεν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπαιγόμενος ὡς ἤδη λοιπὸν καὶ τοῦ μετοπώρου ἐπιστάντος, καταλιπὼν ἕτερον λαὸν ὀπισθεν διὰ τὸ καὶ ἐτέρους Τοῦρκους καταλίζεσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν γῆν κατὰ φατρίας καὶ μοίρας διαιρουμένους
139 καὶ κατατρέχοντας λωποδυτῶν τρόπον καὶ κλεπτῶν καὶ τὸ | προστυχὸν ἅπαν ἀφανίζοντας καὶ ληίζοντας. Δι' ἃ καὶ δυσχερὴς ἦν ἡ τούτων κώλυσις πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐφεδρευόντων, τῶν στρατευμάτων αὐτῶν καθ' αὐτὰ μεμονωμένων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων ἀντιστῆναι αὐτοῖς, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως αὐθις μὴ οὔου τε ὄντος μερίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐνὶ παρόντος τόπῳ. Εἰσιόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν βασιλίδαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν στρατεύμα γέγονεν, ἰνδικτιῶνος ὀγδόης ἐνισταμένης τοῦ ,ς φοῖ' ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἱερὸν ἐπυρπολήθη τῶν Βλαχερνῶν ἕως ἐδάφους.

victories, | which explains why the rest were disinclined to perform some noble and courageous feat of arms. This could not have happened had the emperor been on hand, presiding over events in person and watching over everything day in and day out, and arranging regular spells of relief for soldiers weary from their toils. 138

23. The emperor made his way through Koloneia and the Armenian themes as far as Sebasteia with his army. Learning there that the Turks were pressing on towards Pisidia and Lykaonia with the further intention of reaching Ikonion, he made haste to stay on their heels as far as the town called Herakleia. Here he learned that they had already overrun Ikonion and departed since they feared that he was after them, so he sent a portion of the *tagmata* to join forces with Chatatourios, the *doux* of Antioch,¹²² a man of noble character who had made many a display of courageous acts. He had previously received orders to proceed swiftly to Mopsouestia—for the Turks were expected to pass through that area—and await them there and do all manner of harm to them. And so on their way through the mountains of Seleukeia into the plain of Tarsos the Turks were brought down by spears in the places where they were met by the Armenians, and they cast nearly all their plunder away. Once the enemy learned of the Romans' encampment at Mopsouestia, they did not linger for any length of time, but after pausing to rest as long as they could at Valtolibadi¹²³ they headed off during the night, crossing over Mount Sarvandikon and pressing on with all haste to the borders of Aleppo, and barely escaped the danger.

24. The emperor was filled with disappointment at the failure of the soldiers in Mopsouestia to take action. He had been on his way directly to Klaudiopolis in Seleukeia when he learned of the enemy's escape. Giving up his plan, he turned back and made for Byzantium since autumn had already arrived. He left another host behind since there were other Turks, split up into clans and detachments, who were raiding Roman territory in the manner of thieves and robbers | and destroying and looting every last thing they chanced upon. For this reason it was difficult to block their way as they made their incursions along all roads, whereas the armies were isolated and on their own and thus unable to resist them, while the emperor, being indivisible, could only be in one place at a time. Upon his entry into the imperial City the rest of the army went to their homes, this during the eighth indiction of the year 6578,¹²⁴ which was when the great shrine of the Blachernai burned to the ground. 139

122 He had been appointed by Diogenes and in his gratitude remained loyal to his patron after Mantzikert: Bryennios, *Histoire*, 126–128.

123 "Marshy valley."

124 The year 1069–1070; the emperor returned from his campaign in the autumn of 1069.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ὑποφαίνεσθαι ἤρξατο, ἐσκέψατο παρεῖναι τῇ βασιλίδι ὁ βασιλεύς. Προκρίνας δὲ Μανουὴλ πρωτοπρόεδρον τὸν Κομνηνὸν καὶ τοῦτον τιμήσας τῷ τοῦ κουροπαλάτου ἀξιώματι στρατηγὸν καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀποδεῖκνυσιν. Τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν τὰ προσάντη καὶ δυσχερῆ καὶ λυπηρὰ τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ῥωμαίων συνεκύρηνσεν. Ἐξίων οὖν ὁ προβεβλημένος εἰς τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ νέος τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλὰ γε πεπλανημένος οὐδὲν ἢ μεираκιῶδες ἐνεργῶν κατεφάνετο, πολὺν δὲ τῶν εἰκότων λόγον ποιούμενος· τὰς γὰρ δυνάμεις συνηθροικῶς πασίρρωμος τῇ Καισαρείᾳ ἐπεφοίτησεν, οὐ τῆς εὐνομίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ φροντίζων προσηκόντως καὶ τοὺς ἀδικούντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκτίσεων προστίμοις κατὰγχνων. Πολέμοις δὲ τισιν ἐντυχὼν νικητὴς ἀνεφάνη καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ εὐδοξίαν ἤδη πλατύνειν καὶ μεγαλύνειν διηγωνίζετο. Πυνθανόμενος δὲ ταυτὶ ὁ κρατῶν εὐθυμεῖν μὲν ἐψέκει κρύψας δ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὸν φθόνον. Ὅμως δ' οὖν ἵνα τὴν τῆς Ἱεροπόλεως τάχα λύσῃ πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν σιτοδείαν παραμυθῆσθαι, μοῖραν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἀποτεμόμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπελθεῖν διωρίσατο καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐκ τούτων ἰσχύος τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπεστέρησεν. Εἰς δὲ Σεβάστειαν παραγενομένου μετὰ τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων 140 δυνάμεων καὶ περὶ τὸ ἄστρ στρατοπεδεύσαντος | ἐπῆλθέ τις πληθὺς τουρκικὴ. Ἐξῆκει γοῦν κατ' αὐτῶν ὁ κουροπαλάτης. Φαντασίαν δὲ φυγῆς παρεσχημένων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ συνθήματος, ἐπεὶ διασκεδασθέντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐδίωκον, ἐπιστροφὴν αἰφνίδιον ποιησάμενοι παλίντροπον τὴν νίκην εἰργάσαντο· διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐάλωσαν, πλείους δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας ἔργον γεγόνασι. Συναλίσκεται δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κουροπαλάτης καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἀπάσης παράστασις καὶ ἀρπαγὴ καὶ διασκύλευσις γέγονε. Καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ἄστρ πλησίον ὃν τοὺς πλείστους διέσωσεν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν πανστρατιᾷ ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡλικία, ὅση πρὸς τὴν ἐνταῦθα ἐκστρατεῖαν συνέδραμε.

Τῆς φήμης δὲ καταλαβούσης τὸν βασιλέα πολλὴ τις ἀνία κατέσχευεν αὐτόν. Μήπω δὲ σχεδὸν ταύτης ἡκουσμένης ἐτέρα ἐπῆλθεν ὀξυτέρα φήμη καὶ τομωτέρα πολλῶ, τοὺς Τούρκους ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὴν ἐν Χώναις πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν περιβόητον ἐν θαύμασι καὶ ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου ναὸν καταλαβεῖν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ, καὶ φόνου μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκείσε πληρῶσαι καὶ λύθρου, πολλὰς δὲ ὕβρεις τῷ ἱερῷ ἐμπαροινεθῆναι, ἱππῶνα τὸν πάνσεπτον ἐργασαμένους ναόν, καὶ τὸ δὴ σχετλιώτερον μὴδὲ τὰς τοῦ χάσματος σήραγγας, ἐν ᾧ περ οἱ παραρρέοντες ποταμοὶ ἐκείσε χωνευόμενοι διὰ τῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου παλαιᾶς ἐπιδημίας καὶ θεοσημίας ὥς διὰ πρανοῦς ἀστατοῦν τὸ ρεῦμα καὶ λίαν εὐδρομοῦν ἔχουσι, τοὺς καταφυγόντας διατηρῆσαι καὶ ὑπαλῦξαι τὸν κίνδυνον ἰσχύσαι, ἀλλ', ὅπερ οὐ γέγονε ποτε, πλημμυρῆσαι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ οἶον

125 Son of the aforementioned John Komnenos (section 1.1). His appointment reflects the emperor's desire to cultivate the Komnenoi as a counterweight to the Doukai. It would also appear that Diogenes did not go on campaign to the east in 1070 so that he could devote attention and resources to Italy, where the last Byzantine possessions (including Bari) were under threat from the Normans. See below, section VI.21–25.

25. When the spring first appeared, the emperor thought it best to stay in the Queen City. He selected the *protoproedros* Manuel Komnenos and after promoting him to the dignity of *kouropalates* he appointed him *strategos* and commander of the army.¹²⁵ It was from this time on that adversity, hardship, and distress came upon the empire of the Romans. The newly appointed commander set out to perform his task, and although he was young in years he did nothing to indicate that his actions were misguided or immature, and he gave much thought to the right course to take. After mobilising his forces he came to Kaisareia in full strength. He devoted his attention not only to discipline but to the army and he subjected¹²⁶ wrongdoers to loss of their military salaries as a punishment. He emerged the victor in a few battles and was already striving to spread and enhance his reputation. Upon receiving word of these exploits the ruler gave the appearance of being pleased but concealed his jealousy within himself. As it was, to end the siege of Hierapolis quickly and to relieve the lack of foodstuffs, the emperor detached a not inconsiderable part of the army and ordered it to proceed to Syria; and in this way he deprived the *strategos* of their strength. When the *strategos* came to Sebasteia with the forces remaining to him and encamped by the town, | a horde of Turks arrived. Out went the *kouropalates* to meet them. At a given signal the enemy feigned retreat, and when the Romans became disorganised in the pursuit they suddenly wheeled about and turned defeat into victory. As a result many were captured and a great many more cut down by the sword. The *kouropalates* himself was captured along with the others, and the entire encampment was broken into, ransacked, and looted. Had not the presence of the town nearby provided a haven, the Roman youth who accompanied that expedition would have been in grave peril along with the whole army.

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26. When the news came to the emperor, a great sorrow came over him. Hardly had this report reached his ears when another, far more painful and troubling, arrived to inform him that the Turks had taken the town of Chonai by storm and with it the very shrine of the Archistrategos renowned for its miracles and votive offerings. They had filled the whole place with slaughter and gore and desecrated the sanctuary with many outrages, and they had turned the all-holy church into a stable. What was even more disturbing was that the channels in the cavern, in which the rivers that flow through there were funnelled by the visitation and divine manifestation of the Archistrategos long ago have a precipitous and turbulent current that runs very quickly, could not protect the

126 Reading *κατάγων* for *κατάχων*.

ἀναρροιβδῆσαι καὶ ἀνερεύξασθαι καὶ πάντας ἄρδην τοὺς καταπεφευγότες κατακλύσαι καὶ διὰ ξηρᾶς ὑποβρυχίους ποιήσασθαι.

141 Ταῦτα τοιγαροῦν ἐπιδηγηθέντα πολλὴν ἐνήκαν τὴν ἀθυμίαν ἡμῖν λογιζόμενοι θεοσημίαν εἶναι τὸ γεγονός καὶ μὴνιν καὶ χόλον Θεοῦ, ὡς μὴ μόνον τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν στοιχείων ἀντιμαχομένων ἡμῖν. Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἡ τοσαύτη τῶν ἐθνῶν ὁρμὴ καὶ ἔπαρσις καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους τε|λούντων κατακοπὴ ὀργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐδόκει, κατὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν δὲ οἱ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν ἄχρι Λυκανδοῦ καὶ Μελιτηνῆς καὶ τὴν παρακειμένην οἰκοῦσιν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν τοῦ Νεστορίου καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀκεφάλων θρησκεύουσιν αἵρεσιν· καὶ γὰρ πλήθουσιν αἶδε αἱ χώραι τῆς τοιαύτης κακοδοξίας. Ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἤψατο τὸ δεινόν, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἦσαν πάντες οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων θρησκεύοντες, πεπληρώσθαι καὶ τὸ αὐτῶν μέτρον, οἷα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀμορραίων, λογιζόμενοι καὶ πιστεύοντες τηνικαῦτα ὡς ἄρα οὐ μόνον πίστις ἀπαιτεῖται ὀρθή, ἀλλὰ καὶ βίος τῇ πίστει μὴ ἀνθιστάμενος. Διὸ καὶ ἀμφοτέροι, ὅ τε περὶ τὴν πίστιν σφαλλόμενος δηλαδὴ καὶ ὁ περὶ τὸν βίον ὑποσκάζων καὶ χωλεύων, ἐν ἴσῃ τιμωρίᾳ καθίστανται· ὁ δὲ ποιήσας καὶ διδάξας ἐπαινεῖται καὶ μακαρίζεται.

Ταῦτα ἐνωτισάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς προθυμίαν μὲν εἶχεν ὡς αὐτίκα ἐξορμήσαι καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ βοηθήσαι, ἀπείργετο δὲ τοῖς τε συμβούλοις καὶ τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐναντίων. Ἦσαν δὲ ὁ τε Παλαιολόγος Νικηφόρος, ὁ ὑπέρτιμος καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑπατος Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Ψελλὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁ καῖσαρ, ὁ τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος σύναϊμος, οἱ τὸ ὅσον μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ζῆν ἤρουντο αὐτόν· βαρὺς γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ βλεπόμενος λίαν, αὐτῷ ἀπεχθανομένοις ὡς ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ θυμοειδεῖ καὶ τοὺς ἐφέδρους τῆς βασιλείας ἔχοντι, τοὺς παιδᾶς φημι τοῦ Δούκα. Ὅμως δ' οὖν ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς ἤδοῦντο συμβουλευεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ ἀσύμφορα. Μεθ' ἡμέρας δὲ τινὰς ἦκε καὶ ὁ κουροπαλάτης Μανουὴλ ἐπαγόμενος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν κατασχόντα αὐτὸν Τοῦρκον οὐκ ἄκοντα, ἀλλ' ἐκόντα τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα δουλείαν αἰρετισάμενον. Δυσμενῶς γὰρ

127 Nestorios, archbishop of Constantinople (428–431), rejected the definition of the Virgin Mary as Theotokos, “God-bearing” or “Mother of God.” His teachings were condemned at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Akephaloi (“the headless ones”) refers to any number of heretical groups rejecting the doctrines of Christ’s nature formulated at the Council of Chalcedon. Skylitzes is here referring to the Syrian Christians known as Jacobites, whom he distinguishes from the non-Chalcedonian Armenians dwelling in the areas he cites. Both had been settled in the eastern frontier zones and newly conquered territories during the second half of the tenth century to replace the exiled Muslim inhabitants. Tensions with the heterodox populations within the Orthodox realm had been on the rise during the eleventh century; see Dagron, “Minorités ethniques et religieuses,” 198–216; Kaldellis, *Romanland*, 252–268.

128 Cf. Genesis 15:16.

129 Cf. Matthew 5:19.

130 The first attested member of a famous family. He supported the reigning emperors Mi-

people fleeing there and keep them from danger. Instead—and this had never happened before—the water flooded, then was sucked down and spewed forth again. It engulfed the fugitives all at once and drowned them on dry land.

27. These reports were very demoralising to us as we took the event as the manifestation of the anger and wrath of God, since it was not just the enemy but the very elements of nature that were assailing us. For in times previous so great an invasion and onslaught of foreign enemies and the decimation of the people living under Roman rule | were taken to be the wrath of God, but it was directed against those heretics who inhabit Iberia and Mesopotamia as far as Lykandos and Melitene, as well as the adjacent Armenia, or the ones who practise the Judaic heresy of Nestorios and the Akephaloi.¹²⁷ These lands are full of this sort of erroneous belief. But when the calamity affected the Orthodox, all those who practised the faith of the Romans were at a loss as to what to do, thinking that they had reached their limit of iniquity just as the Amorites had reached theirs,¹²⁸ and believing that in these circumstances not only correct belief was required but also a life not at odds with faith. It followed that both the man who clearly erred with respect to belief and the man who stumbled and fell into an imperfect way of life were subject to the same punishment. Whosoever practises this and teaches this is praised and blessed.¹²⁹

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28. When the emperor heard of these events he was all the more eager to set out at once and go to the aid of his own realm, but he was held back by his counsellors and by his ignorance of the enemy's strength. His counsellors were Nikephoros Palaiologos,¹³⁰ the *hypertimos* and consul of the philosophers Constantine Psellos, and above all the *kaisar*, the kinsman of the previous emperor, who, for all they cared, would have preferred him dead. For the sight of him was onerous to them, and they hated him for being a noble and high-spirited man who also had successors lying in wait for the throne—here I mean the sons of Doukas.¹³¹ Still, they shrank from openly offering him harmful advice.¹³² A few days later the *kouropalates* arrived, bringing with him the Turk who had taken

chael VII Doukas and Nikephoros III Botaneiates, but eventually accepted Komnenian rule. His career is outlined by Cheynet and Vannier. *Études prosopographiques*, 133–134.

131 The sons of the emperor Constantine X Doukas. It is not clear why the counsellors noted hated Diogenes for having the sons of Doukas as his heirs (this is what the text says); but perhaps we should take this to mean that they resented him for standing in the way of these heirs and the people who wished to manipulate them.

132 The persons named in this passage and their hatred of Diogenes are Skylitzes' additions to the passage he paraphrases from Attaleiates, *History*, 19.4.

142 ἔχοντος τοῦ σουλτάνου πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τινὰ συμβάντα αἰτιάματα στρατιὰν κατ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τινος στρατάρχου ἐξαπέστειλε παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐλεῖν αὐτὸν μηχανώμενος, οὗ τῷ φόβῳ κατασεισθεὶς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσπέφευγε καὶ πρόεδρος παραυτίκα τετίμηται. Ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν φαινόμενον νέος, πυγμαῖος δὲ σχεδὸν τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν ὄψιν Σκύθης | καὶ ἄχαρις. Διεῖπε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς συμβαλέσθαι αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἐλπίζων ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ στρατείᾳ.

Κατάλογον δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ποιησάμενος, ἄρτι τοῦ ἔαρος ὑπανοίγοντος διαπεραιωθεὶς εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἑρίων παλάτια κατὰγεται καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας, τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ἑτησίαν ρόγαν τῷ τε στρατῷ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ διανειμάμενος, οὐ διὰ χρυσίου πάσαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐνδέον σηρικοῖς ὑφάσμασιν ἀναπληρῶσάμενος. Διαπεραιουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ περιστέρα τις οὐ πάνυ λευκὴ, πρὸς τὸ μέλαν δὲ τὸ πλείστον αὐτῆς ὑποφαίνουσα, ποθὲν ἵπταμένη τὴν φέρουσαν τὸν βασιλέα τριήρη περιεπέτετο, ἕως εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον καθεσθεῖσα χερσὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ προσερρῇ. Κἀκεῖνος ταύτην τῇ βασιλίδι ἀνέπεμψεν ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀπομεινάσῃ διὰ τινὰς θρύψεις γυναικείας καὶ ἄκκισμούς. Ἔδοξεν οὖν ἡ περιστέρα σύμβολον οὐ χρηστῆς ἀποβάσεως αὐτῷ τε τῷ λαβόντι καὶ πρὸς ἣν ἔσταλτο. Ἀλλ' ἐκείνη περιπετῶς σχοῦσα τῆς θρύψεως, μεταμεληθεῖσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἀφίκετο τὸν συντακτῆριον ἀποδώσουσα καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκστρατεῖαν προπέμψουσα. Ἐκεῖθεν οὖν ἀπάρας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐν Νεακώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐν ὑπατίοις χωρίοις τισὶ <ῆ> βασιλικοῖς προσωρμίσατο, ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐλενοπόλει, ἣν οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἀγροικικώτερον κικλήσκουσιν Ἐλεεινόπολ-

133 The Turk who returned with Manuel Komnenos is identified as Arisghi (also known by his Greek name Chrysoskoulos, the one used by Bryennios in his account of Manuel's dealings with him, *Histoire*, 100–102), the brother-in-law of Alp Arslan, who fled to Constantinople after a dispute with the sultan. Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 150–151, and “Defection,” 608, sees the reception of Arisghi as an attempt to exploit dynastic tensions among the Seljuks. This man would later play an important part in bringing Suleiman ibn Koutloumous into an alliance with Nikephoros Botaneiates during the latter's rebellion in 1077–1078.

134 Afshin ibn Bakji, mentioned above in section III.10.

135 March 13, 1071. On the Mantzikert campaign, its sources and historiography, see Vryonis,

him prisoner.¹³³ The man came not against his will but of his own volition since he had chosen to enter the service of the emperor. For the sultan had turned his wrath upon him on account of of certain charges, and had sent an army against him under one of his captains,¹³⁴ and had tried in every way possible to capture him. Stricken with fright, he sought refuge with the emperor and was immediately honoured with the title of *proedros*. He was young in appearance, nearly a pygmy in stature, Scythian in countenance, and disagreeable to behold. | The emperor held many conversations with him in the hope that he would be of use in his coming campaign against the Turks.

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v The Mantzikert Campaign and Its Aftermath (1071)

1. After calling up his soldiers, the emperor crossed over just as spring was beginning and arrived at the palace of Hieria on the first Sunday of Lent.¹³⁵ The day before he had given out the annual stipend to the army and the Senate, but as it was not all in gold he made up the deficiency with silk robes. During his crossing, a dove, not purely white but for the most part dark in its appearance, came winging in from somewhere and flew about the ship that was carrying the emperor until it landed on him and settled in his hands. He sent this off to the empress who, departing from custom, had remained in the palace for the sake of some womanly pleasures and indulgences. To the emperor when he took hold of it, and to the empress when it was sent to her, the dove did not seem to forecast a successful outcome. But when the empress had had her fill of pleasure,¹³⁶ she repented and came to the emperor to deliver the valediction and send him forth on his expedition with due ceremony. After setting off from there the emperor did not put in at Nea Kome or at any of the places fit for high-ranking or imperial persons, but at Helenopolis, which the locals

“Greek and Arabic sources”; Cheynet, “Mantzikert”; Hillenbrand, *Turkish Myth and Muslim Symbol* (with translations and discussion of the non-Greek sources); and most recently, Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 155–161. Although Mantzikert was not a particularly sanguinary affair, all that resulted from it made the battle an undeniable turning point in Byzantine history. A victory would have legitimated Romanos IV Diogenes, established a new dynasty, stabilised the political scene, and potentially halted the Turkish incursions into Anatolia. Defeat brought ten years of internal conflict, rebellions, invasions, and an irrecoverable loss of territory.

136 Reading the variant περιττώς instead of περιπετώς.

ιν, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ οἰωνὸς οὐ χρηστὸς ἔδοξε. Συνέβη δὲ καὶ τι ἕτερον· τὸ γὰρ συνέχον τὴν βασιλικὴν σκηνὴν μέγιστον ξύλον κατεαγὲν πεσεῖν αὐτὴν αἰφνηδὸν παρεσκεύασεν. "Ὅμως δ' οὖν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓν τούτων ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀβελτηρία καὶ οἷον εἰπεῖν καχεξία καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ δοκούσῃ πίστει ἄπιστον καὶ ἀσύμβλητον διαβλέψαι ἠθέλησε, τοῦ χρεῶν ἐμποδίζοντος πανταχοῦ καὶ μὴδ' αὐτῷ παρεχομένου συναίσθησιν πρὸς ὃν ἀποσκήπτειν ἔμελλον.

143 Προΐει τοίνυν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῆς ἐώας προσωτέρω προήρχετο, ἕως τῇ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ἐπαρχίᾳ προσέβαλε φειδωλίᾳ παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς πρὸς πάντας συνεχόμενος. Συνεῖς δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ συνεχὲς τῶν προγεγονότων σημείων εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποσκήψον, οὐκ ἐν σκηνῇ οὐδ' ἐν πεδίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν γηλόφοις καὶ δωματίοις τὴν κατασκήνωσιν ἐποίησατο. Ἐνθα δὴ τι καὶ συνέβη οὐκ ἔλαττον εἰς κακοδαίμονιαν οἰώνισμα. Πῦρ γάρ ποθεν ἐνεχθὲν τοὺς δόμους, ἐν οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσκήνωτο, κατενεμήσατο, οἷς καὶ συγκατεκαύθησαν ἵπποι τε καὶ ἐφεστρίδες βασιλικαὶ καὶ χαλινὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολὺ διαφέροντα καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς δι' ὀλίγου γεγόνاسι παρανάλωμα. Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι ἡμίφλεκτοι καθορώμενοι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐλεεινὸν διεφαίνοντο θέαμα.

Τὸν δὲ Σαγγάριον διαπεραιωθεὶς, παρ' ᾧ ταῦτα γέγονε, διὰ τῆς τοῦ Τζούμπου λεγομένης γεφύρας τὰς οἰκείας δυνάμεις ἀθροίζειν ἤρξατο, διασκεδασθείσας διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπίθεσιν. Καταλέξας δ' οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὅσον ἠβούλετο, τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπεπέμψατο στρατιωτῶν τε καὶ λοχαγῶν, τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ὡς προκατειργασμένους ταῖς προβεβηκυῖαις ἤτταις, τοὺς δὲ λοχαγοὺς αὐτὸς δειλιῶν ἐπάγεσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ ὡς τῷ μέρει τῶν ἐφέδρων προσανέχοντας. Εἴθε μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ εἰς πάντας ἐπέπρακτο· καὶ εἰ μὴ δυνατόν ἦν τὸν θεῖον ὄρον παρελθεῖν καὶ τὸ κεκερασμένον ποτήριον ἐκφυγεῖν, τέως δ' οὖν ἀσφαλῶς πράξας ἐφάνη ἄν. Τὸν Βοτανειάτην δὲ Νικηφόρον καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ὡς ὑπόπτους διωσάμενος, τοὺς δόλου καὶ κακοηθείας μεστοὺς συνεπήγετο, ὡς προῖων ὁ λόγος δηλώσει.

Αὐτὸς δὲ οὕτως ἰὼν, τῶν καταληψόντων αὐτὸν κακῶν ἀνεπαίσθητος, ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἄλυν λεγόμενον ποταμόν, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπομείνας εἰς τι νεοπαγὲς φρούριον, πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν λαχόν, ἐσκηνώσατο. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ περαιωθεὶς τὴν διαίρεσιν εἰς οἰκείας κτήσεις συνδιεγράψατο. Τὴν δὲ Καισαρέων παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην

137 In other words, "pitiful town."

138 Also Zompos (as in section VI.6 below): it spanned the Sangarios river east of Dorylaion. On its location, see Belke, *Galatien und Lykaonien*, 286.

139 In other words, even if he could not see into the future and avoid what God had ordained, his precautions in weeding out potential plotters would have been justified.

140 A detail added by Skylitzes; Attaleiates, understandably, makes no mention of Botaneiates in connection with the Mantzikert campaign.

141 In this and the preceding sentence Skylitzes has condensed a longer passage in Attaleiates (*History*, 20.6) into a somewhat opaque account of events. The translation of the first sentence has been worded to make it clear that the army crossed the Halys river before Diogenes did (as in Attaleiates); in the second, the meaning of the phrase τὴν διαίρεσιν εἰς οἰκείας κτήσεις συνδιεγράψατο is difficult to determine. The corresponding passage in

in their rather rustic way are pleased to call Eleeinopolis,¹³⁷ which likewise did not seem a good omen. Something else happened as well. The large pole supporting the emperor's tent shattered and caused it to collapse all of a sudden. Nevertheless, the foolishness of men, their bad habits, so to speak, their lack of faith in what they profess to believe, and their failure to grasp the obvious, made them unwilling to look seriously at any one of these omens, as the demands of the moment kept interrupting and did not allow the emperor to foresee what was about to befall him.

2. And so he carried on and marched ever further to the east until he arrived in the province of the Anatoliki. He felt himself constrained, for no real reason, to be stingy towards all. | Sensing, it would seem, that the recurrent signs were intended for him, he made his encampment not in a tent in the open plains but in huts on hilltops. There an omen occurred that was no less foreboding. A fire somehow broke out in the dwellings where the emperor made his quarters and began to spread. The horses and the imperial trappings in these quarters were consumed together in the flames, and the bridles that were of much greater quality than the rest were soon reduced to ashes by the fire. The half-burned horses that the army witnessed presented a pitiful spectacle.

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3. After crossing the Sangarios River (on whose bank this incident had taken place) by means of the bridge known as Tzoumpos¹³⁸ he began to assemble his forces which had been dispersed by the barbarians' attack. Once he had selected as many as he wanted, he dismissed the rest of the soldiers and officers, the soldiers since they had been demoralised by earlier defeats, the officers because he feared bringing along with him men loyal to a faction of plotters. If only this precaution had been applied to all. Even if the divine limitation could not be crossed and the mixed chalice could not be avoided, he would have appeared to have been acting for his own security at that time.¹³⁹ But he rejected Nikephoros Botaneiates and others of his sort as if they were untrustworthy,¹⁴⁰ and he took along men full of deceit and malice, as the narrative will show as it continues.

4. While the emperor proceeded in this way, with no inkling of the evils about to befall him, the army crossed the river named the Halys, although he himself remained behind for a time and encamped at a newly built fortress which had fallen to his lot to construct. Then, after he crossed over, he marked out a section from the army and led it by way of his own properties.¹⁴¹ Bypass-

Attaleiates reads τὴν διαίρεσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ εἰς κτήσεις οἰκείας συνδιεγράψατο, which we take to mean that the emperor divided the army; presumably, he then led one section by way of his own properties (in the theme of Cappadocia, whence the emperor came originally and where he owned a good deal of land). In both sentences the translation expands upon the Greek to supply the overall sense of the passage.

κατήντησε Κρύαν Πηγὴν· ἦν γὰρ ὁ τόπος πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν στρατοῦ εὐθετος πᾶσι βρίθων τοῖς χρησίμοις, ἀστυκώμη καὶ ἀγρόπολις διὰ τῆς συμμιγούσης ποριμότητος γνωριζόμενος. Κειρομένης δὲ τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐρημουμένης παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπη|νέστερον 144 προσηνέχθη τισὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ τάγματος τῶν Νεμίτζων. Ἄλλ' οἱ γε διηχθέντες ἀποστατοῦσι. Γνωσθέντος δὲ τούτου ἵππου ἐπιβὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν συγκαλεσάμενος τοὺς ἰδιοξένους τούτους κατέπληξε καὶ αὖθις ὑποσπόνδους κατέστησεν, ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ τὸ πρόστιμον ὀρίσας αὐτοῖς, ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ τετάχθαι ἀντὶ τῆς πρώην ἐγγύτητος καὶ σωματοφυλακίας.

Ἐκεῖθεν χωρεῖ εἰς Σεβάστειαν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καταλαβεῖν ἐπειγόμενος, ὅτε καὶ τῶν σὺν τῷ κουροπαλάτῃ Μανουῇ τῷ Κομνηνῷ πεσόντων θεατῆς τῶν πτωμάτων ἐγένετο. Κάκειθεν σχολῇ καὶ βάδην ἰὼν καταλαμβάνει τὴν Θεοδοσιούπολιν, πρώην μὲν ἀμεληθεῖσαν, ἐξ ὅτου δὲ ἐπολιορκήθη τὸ Ἄρτζε ἀνοικοδομηθεῖσαν καὶ κατοχυρωθεῖσαν. Ἐντεῦθεν διμήνου τροφὴν ἐκάστῳ φέρειν ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος, ὥς δι' αἰκῆτου καὶ ἡρημωμένης χώρας βαδίζειν μέλλουσι.

πάντων δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιησαμένων τὸ μισθοφορικὸν τῶν Οὐζων καὶ τοὺς Φράγκους σὺν Ῥουσελίῳ, ἀνδρὶ γενναίῳ καὶ πολεμικῷ, διαφίησι κατὰ τοῦ Χλῖατ εἰς προνομήν. Τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἐποιήσατο. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ κατόπιν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ Μαντζικιέρτ παρεγένετο, πόλιν Ῥωμαϊκὴν μὲν, χειρωθεῖσαν δὲ πρό τοῦ τῷ σουλτάνῳ καὶ Τούρκους ἐγκαθημένους ἔχουσαν. Καταφρονήσας δὲ τούτων ὡς ὀλιγοστών, ἑτέραν μοῖραν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην ἀποτεμόμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ Ἰωσήφ μαγίστρῳ τῷ Τραχανειώτῃ παραδίδωσι, προσεπιδοὺς καὶ στίφος πεζῶν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἵπποτῶν τὸ ἔκκριτόν τε καὶ μαχιμώτατον κἂν τοῖς πολέμοις προκινδυνεῦον αἰεὶ καὶ προμαχόμενον. Ἄρας δὲ ὁ Τραχανειώτης ἄπεισιν εἰς τὸ Χλῖατ βοηθήσων τοῖς Οὐζοῖς καὶ τοῖς Φράγκοις καὶ παντὶ τῷ μισθοφορικῷ· ἡκηκόει γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς πλῆθος μυριάνδρων κατ' αὐτῶν φέρεσθαι.

Διεῖλε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν στρατὸν ἐλπίζων αὐτὸς ταχὺ τὸ Μαντζικιέρτ παραστήσασθαι—ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονε—καὶ ἐπιδημήσαι τοῖς ἐν τῷ Χλῖατ· εἰ δὲ τις ἀνάγκη 145 κατεπεῖξει, ταχέως αὐτοὺς προσκαλέσασθαι, | πλησίον ἐσκηνωμένων τῶν στρατευ-

142 "Cold Spring" in English.

143 The retinue seems to have been composed of the *Nemitzoi* who were surprised at how quickly the emperor brought the malcontents back under control. A variant reading recorded in the apparatus (καὶ μὴ βουλομένους) adds here that these men did not return to the fold altogether willingly. See also Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 75 (no. 93).

144 Roussel de Bailleul, the Norman adventurer who fought alongside Robert Guiscard and his brother Roger in Italy and Sicily during the 1060s, entered Byzantine service with Robert Crispin about the year 1070. He was to be perhaps the single most important factor in the collapse of Byzantine power in Anatolia after Mantzikert; see Shepard, "Uses of the Franks," 299–302; Magdalino, *Byzantine Background*, 29–32; and Kaldellis, *Streams of Gold*, 256–261.

ing Kaisareia, he reached the place called Krya Pege.¹⁴² A country town and a rural city known for the variety and abundance of its bounty, the place was well suited to accommodate an army since it teemed with every resource. Since the region was being ravaged and stripped bare by the soldiers, | he dealt rather severely with a few men from the *tagma* of the *Nemitzoi*. They were aggrieved at this and rebelled. When this became known, the emperor mounted his horse and called his army together. He astonished his retinue as he brought the rebels back under his authority,¹⁴³ punishing them in this way only, that they were to be placed in the last ranks instead of in their former station close to him in his bodyguard. 144

5. From here, in his haste to reach Iberia, he marched by way of Sebasteia, at which time he beheld the corpses of the men who had fallen while under the command of the *kouropalates* Manuel Komnenos. Proceeding at a leisurely and measured pace he came to Theodosiupolis, a town formerly neglected but since rebuilt and fortified following the siege of Artze. Here he issued a proclamation that each man should carry provisions sufficient for two months since they were about to march through uninhabited and desolate territory.

6. While everyone was carrying out this order, the emperor despatched the contingent of Uze mercenaries and the Franks under Rouselios,¹⁴⁴ a courageous and warlike man, towards Chliat to forage for provisions. He had done this in the past. Trailing behind, the emperor advanced upon Mantzikert, a Roman town that had been captured by the sultan the year before and had Turkish occupants. Considering them of no great importance since they were few in number, he detached another not insignificant portion of his army and placed it under the command of the *magistros* Joseph Trachaneiotēs.¹⁴⁵ In addition he gave him an infantry cohort of no little worth, and moreover a select, highly effective force of cavalrymen that always bore the brunt of battle and were in the thick of the fighting. Trachaneiotēs set off and made his way to Chliat to render assistance to the Uzes and Franks and the entire mercenary contingent, since the emperor had received word that an army numbering in the thousands was bearing down upon them.

7. The emperor divided his army in the expectation that he would quickly bring Mantzikert under his control—which is in fact what happened—and be on hand for the soldiers at Chliat. If there were some pressing emergency, he could recall them quickly | since the armies were encamped close by. He had 145

145 Descendant of a prominent family in Macedonia, but a commander who forsook Diogenes at a crucial moment (see below, v.12). His change of allegiance bore fruit in 1072 when he was raised to *proedros* and *doux* of Antioch by Michael VII.

μάτων· ἤκουε γὰρ τὸν σουλτάνον ἐπείγεσθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ. Καί γε ἦν οὐκ ἄλογος ἡ διαίρεσις τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ λογισμῶν οὐκ ἄπο στρατηγικωτάτων, εἰ μὴ πεπρωμένη· μάλλον δὲ θεῖος χόλος ἢ λόγος ἡμῖν ἀπορρητότερος τὴν ἔκβασιν εἰς τοῦναντίον περιέτρεψε καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῇ αὐθημερινῇ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἐνώσει καὶ τὸν σουλτάνον ἀκηρυκτῇ τοῖς Τούρκοις ἐπέστησε καὶ τὰ δοκηθέντα τελεσθῆναι διακέκώλυκε.

Παραλαβὼν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ Μαντζικιέρτ, καταπλαγέντων καὶ ὀρρωδησάντων τῶν Τούρκων τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπέλευσιν καὶ πίστιν αἰτησαμένων καὶ λαβόντων, οὗ καὶ συνέβη ῥινοτμηθῆναι Ῥωμαῖόν τινα εὐορκίας χάριν ἧς ὁμωμόκει τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὀνάριον τουρκικὸν ὑφελόμενον, τὴν Θεοτόκον καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας μεσίτας προβαλλόμενον. Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταυτὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ διετάττετο, τοῖς εἰς τὴν λείαν ἐξελθοῦσι στρατιώταις Ῥωμαίοις πληθὺς τουρκικὴ ἐπιτίθεται. Οἰηθεὶς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡγεμόνα τινα τοῦ σουλτάνου μετὰ τινος ἀφίχθαι δυνάμεως καὶ διακλονεῖν τοὺς σποράδας τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατοῦ, ἀπέστειλεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Νικηφόρον μάγιστρον τὸν Βρυέννιον μετὰ τῆς ἀρκούσης δυνάμεως, ὃς καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐνέδωκε μὲν, ἐτραυματίσθησαν δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ τούτων καὶ ἔπεσον, ῥωμαλεωτέρων φανέντων ἐκ τῆς συγκρίσεως τῶν πρώην ἐθάδων· θρασύτερον γὰρ προσρηγνύμενοι ἀγχεμάχοις ὅπλοις ἀντικαθίσαντο.

“Ὅθεν καὶ φόβῳ κατασεισθεὶς δύναμιν ἐζήτει παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. Ὁ δὲ καταγνοὺς αὐτοῦ δειλίαν—ἡγνόει γὰρ τὸ ἀληθές—ἐκκλησίαν συστησάμενος ἐδημηγόρησε τὰ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ καὶ τραχυτέρων ἤψατο λόγων. Καὶ ἐν τοσούτῳ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπεφώνησε τὴν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ἀνάγνωσιν. Εἶχε δὲ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ἵνα τὰλλα παρῶ, «εἰ ἐμὲ ἐδίωξαν καὶ ὑμᾶς διώξουσιν· εἰ τὸν λόγον μου ἐτήρησαν καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον τηρήσουσιν», ἕως τοῦ «δόξῃ λατρεῖαν προσφέρειν τῷ Θεῷ»· ὁ καὶ ἐπισημηνάμενοι οἱ συνενώτεροι ἔδοξαν ἀψευδὲς τοῦτο καὶ θεοπρόπιον.

- 146 Ζέον|τος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ἐπαπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Νικηφόρον μάγιστρον καὶ δοῦκα Θεοδοσιουπόλεως, τὸν Βασιλάκιον, μετὰ τῶν ἰθαγενῶν στρατιωτῶν. Προσθεθέντος οὖν τῷ Βρυεννίῳ μέχρι τινὸς ἀκροβολισμοῖς ἰσοπαλὴς καὶ ἀμφήριστος ἦν ἡ μάχη. Συνθεμένων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν ὀπισθεν τῶν στρατηγῶν πρωταγωνιστεῖν αὐτὸς καθυπέσχετο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξορμήσας, νῶτα δεδωκότων τῶν ἐναν-

146 The grandfather and namesake of the historian Nikephoros Bryennios who out of ancestral loyalty depicts his ancestor's conduct in a much more favourable light than do the other sources; cf. *Histoire*, 110–112, where Bryennios is shown going to the aid of Basilakes' detachment, the opposite of what Attaleiates and Skylitzes report.

147 John 15:20–21; 16:2.

heard that the sultan was headed his way. Dividing his forces was not irrational or lacking in strategic calculation. It was fate, or rather the wrath or design of God beyond our understanding, that turned the result to the contrary—with respect to both the anticipated outcome of the plan and the ability of the Roman armies to join forces on the same day, it brought the sultan without warning to lead the Turks and it prevented the plan from being carried out.

8. When the emperor reached Mantzikert, the Turks, dumbfounded and stricken with fear at his arrival, sought and received terms. At this point it so happened that a Roman, who had stolen a Turkish donkey, was punished by having his nose cut off, in keeping with the solemn oath which the emperor had sworn to the Turks, even though the man invoked the Mother of God, Christ, and all the holy intercessors. While the emperor was tending to this particular matter, a horde of Turks attacked the Roman soldiers who had gone out in search of plunder. Thinking that one of the sultan's commanders had sallied forth with a small force and was mauling the scattered units of the imperial army, he sent the *magistros* Nikephoros Bryennios¹⁴⁶ against them with a sufficiently large force. Bryennios did not relent once he joined battle with them, but many of the men with him were wounded and not a few of them were killed since these opponents seemed tougher in comparison with the ones familiar from previous encounters. They swept more boldly to the attack and they stood firm against the weapons used in hand-to-hand fighting.

9. As a result, the *magistros*, overcome with fear, asked the emperor for reinforcements. He, however, accused him of cowardice—for he was unaware of the truth of the matter—and after assembling the army gave a speech about the coming battle, in the course of which he engaged in some rather harsh language. In the meantime the priest recited the reading from the Gospel. To go straight to the heart of it, the Gospel passage included, “*If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you; if they have kept my saying, they will keep yours also*” as far as “*that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.*”¹⁴⁷ The wiser heads who took this as a sign regarded it as an unerring and authoritative prophecy.

10. As the battle came to a boil, the emperor sent out the *magistros* Nikephoros Basilakes, *doux* of Theodosiupolis,¹⁴⁸ with some soldiers of local stock. For a time he joined forces with Bryennios in skirmishing, and the contest was evenly matched and evenly fought. After promising to take the lead himself when the soldiers agreed to follow behind the commanders, he immediately went on the attack. When the enemy turned and ran, he set off in pursuit, but

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148 Today Erzurum, northwest of Mantzikert.

τίων, ἐδίδωκε. Τοῦ δὲ Βρυεννίου τοὺς ῥυτῆρας ἀνασχεῖν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσα-
μένου μόνος διώκων ὁ Βασιλάκιος ἦν ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ πραχθέντος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ χάρακι
τῶν ἐναντίων προσέμειξε, περιπαρέντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἵππου προσέσχε τῇ γῇ βάρος τῶν
ὄπλων ἐπιφερόμενος. Διὸ καὶ περιχυθέντες οἱ πολέμιοι αἵρουσιν αὐτὸν ζωγρίαν καὶ
πρὸς τὸν σουλτάνον ἀπάγουσι δέσμιον. Ὡς καὶ εἰς ὅψιν παραστάς οὔτε ὡς δούλος
ἤδη γεγονώς οὔτε ὡς αἰχμάλωτος ἀπαχθεὶς τῷ σουλτάνῳ καθυπετάγη. Ἀλλ' οὔτε ὁ
σουλτάνος εἶτε ὡς δούλῳ εἶτε ὡς αἰχμαλώτῳ προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ, συνεχῶς δὲ παρι-
στῶν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τε ἐπηρώτα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἐπεδείκνυε καὶ εἰς ὀρω-
δίαν καὶ πτοίαν ἐνέβαλλεν. Ὁ δὲ πάντα ἐπαινῶν καὶ μεγαλύνων τὰ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀντι-
παρατάξασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ Ῥωμαίων ἀσύμφορον αὐτῷ συνεβούλευεν. Ἀλλ' οὕτω μὲν
οὗτος·

ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐξῆλθε μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς πληθύος εἰς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων
θέαν. Μέχρι δὲ ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τινων λόφων ἐστῶς, ἐπέειπερ οὐκ εἶδε τὸν ἀντικαθιστά-
μενον, ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. Καὶ αὐτίκα περιχυθέντες οἱ Τοῦρκοι τόξων
βολαῖς καὶ περιιππεύεσσι φόβον οὐ μικρὸν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐνεποίησαν, ἐντὸς γενέσθαι τοῦ
χάρακος βιαζόμενοι. Νῦν ἦν ἀσέληνος, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐγένετο, καὶ διάκρισις ὀθνείων τε καὶ
γνωστῶν, φευγόντων τε καὶ διωκόντων οὐκ ἦν. Διὰ πάσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς περιηχοῦν-
τες ἦσαν ὑλαγμοῖς ἀσήμοις τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὡς ἅπαντας διανυκτερεῦσαι ἠνεωγμένοις
καὶ ἀγρύπνοις τοῖς ὄμμασι.

- 147 Πρωίας δὲ γενομένης μοῖρά τις οὐζική ἔξαρχον ἔχουσα Ταμῆν τινα Σκύθην—
οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον, ὑπὸ Τορνικίῳ τῷ Κοτέρτζῃ ταττόμενον—τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσ-
ερρῦν· ὅπερ οὐκ εἰς μικρὰν ἀγωνίαν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνέβαλεν ὑποπτεύοντας καὶ τὸ
λοιπὸν ἔθνος ὡς πολέμιον. Τινὲς δὲ τῶν πεζῶν ἐξιόντες Τοῦρκων ἀνείλον πολλοὺς
βέλεσιν ἐκηβόλοις καὶ ἀγχεμάχοις ἀμυντηρίοις ὅπλοις, καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἐκστῆναι
παρέπεισαν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταχυδρόμους ἀποστείλας εἰς τὸ Χλίαν τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ἡγε-
μόνας ἐκάλεε μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς δυνάμεων, παραυτίκα θέλων ἀγχεμάχῳ πολέμῳ
διακρίναι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ἀναμένων τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν βοήθειαν τὸν καιρὸν τὴνάλως
ἔτριβεν· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα τὴν πυρρίχιον ἐκμεμελετηκότες ὄρχησιν. Ὡς
δ' ἀπεγνώκει τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων βοήθειαν, κώλυμά τι εἶναι ὑποπτεύσας ἐσκέψατο μετὰ
τῶν συνόντων εἰς τὴν ὕστεραίαν διαγωνίσασθαι. Ἦγνόει δὲ ἄρα ὡς ὁ Τραχανειώτης

149 Skylitzes supplies the only mention of this man, although the family name is attested in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; see Wassiliou-Seibt, "Der heilige Georg auf Siegel," 215–217.

when Bryennios gave the order to his men to rein in, Basilakes, unaware of what had been done, was left to carry on the pursuit by himself. When he came up to the enemy encampment, his horse was stabbed and, weighted down by his armour, he fell to the ground. The enemy swarmed around him and captured him alive and brought him in chains to the sultan. When presented before him he submitted to the sultan but not as one who had already become a slave nor as one hauled off as a prisoner of war. For his part the sultan did not treat him as a slave or a prisoner, but sent for him repeatedly to interrogate him about the emperor, display his might, and strike fear and awe into him. Basilakes in turn praised and extolled everything of the sultan's but advised him that it would not be in his best interest to confront the emperor in battle. But enough about him.

11. The emperor felt the urge to venture out with the rest of his army to observe the situation. He took up a position on some hills until evening, but since he could see no opposing force he returned to the encampment. All at once the Turks came pouring round and, with their volleys of arrows and their horsemen encircling the camp, they inflicted no small amount of terror on the army and kept them penned up within the palisade. The night was moonless while this was taking place and there was no distinction between friend and foe or between the pursuers and the pursued. The whole night long they made the camp resound with their unintelligible howls so that everyone spent the night wide awake with his eyes peeled.

12. Early in the morning | a band of Uzes whose leader was a Scyth, Tames— that was his name, and he was under the command of Tornikios Kotertzes¹⁴⁹— went over to the enemy. This caused considerable consternation among the Romans who suspected the rest of the Uzes of siding with the enemy. Some of the infantry who went out killed many Turks with arrows launched from long range and with defensive weapons used at close quarters and so persuaded them to keep their distance from the encampment. The emperor despatched swift messengers to Chliat summoning the commanders there along with the forces under them since he wished to decide the issue once and for all in a pitched battle, but in waiting for help from them he was wasting his time.¹⁵⁰ For those forces were far more accomplished in the choreography of war than the others. But when he gave up on the prospect of help from them, suspecting that there was something in the way, he made ready for battle the next day with the forces at his disposal. He was not aware that Trachaneiotēs, once he

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150 τὸν καιρὸν τὴν ἄλλως ἔτριβεν: an expression also found in the *Synopsis*, 319.85 (Wortley, 302), 451.40–41 (Wortley, 424), 475.25 (Wortley, 443).

παραπείσας καὶ τὸν Ῥουσέλιον συνελθεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ προθυμούμενον, μαθὼν τὴν τοῦ σουλτάνου ἄφιξιν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπέλευσιν, ἄρας τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας διὰ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας φυγὰς ἀγεννῶς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐνέβαλε, μηδὲνα λόγον τοῦ δεσπότης μήτε μὴν τοῦ εἰκότος ὁ δειλαιὸς θέμενος.

148 Ὁ γοῦν βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον τὴν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευὴν ἐς τὴν αὖριον ἐξαρτύσας τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν διετάττετο ἔτι τῆς βασιλείου σκηνῆς ἐντὸς καθιστάμενος, ὁπότε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῶν συνόντων Σκυθῶν, τῶν Οὐζῶν φημί, δέος ἀφαιρούμενος ὄρκω συνήθει τῆς αὐτῶν θρησκείας αὐτοὺς κατησφαλίσαιο. Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπράττετο καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται κατὰ τάξεις καὶ λόχους ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐφίσταντο ἔνοπλοι, πρέσβεις ἦκον ἐκ τοῦ σουλτάνου τὴν εἰρήνην ἀμφοτέροις ἐπικηρυκευόμενοι. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐδέξατο μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ λόγων αὐτοῖς κατὰ νόμον τῶν πρέσβων μετέδωκεν, οὐ πάνυ δὲ τούτους φιλανθρώπως ἐδέξατο. Ὅμως δ' οὖν συνεπινεύσας καὶ σταυρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιδέδωκεν, ἵνα | τῇ ἐπιδείξει τούτου ἀβλαβεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποστρέψωσι κομίζοντες ἀγγελίας, ἃς ἂν ἐκ τοῦ σουλτάνου πύθωιντο. Δεδήλωκε γάρ τῷ ἀνελπίστῳ τοῦ μηνύματος ἐπαρθείς, ἵν' ὁ σουλτάνος καταλιπὼν τὸν τόπον τῆς ἰδίας παρεμβολῆς πορρωτέρω στρατοπεδεύσῃται· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ, ὃς τὸν σουλτάνον εἶχε πρότερον, ἐπικαταπῆξει τὸν χάρακα καὶ τῆνικαῦτα πρὸς συμβιβάσεις αὐτῷ χωρήσει. Ἐλαθε δὲ τὴν νίκην ὑπὸ ὑψηλοφροσύνης τοῖς ἐναντίοις καταπροέμενος, καθὼς οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα διακριβούντες συμβάλλουσι, τὸ νικητικώτατον σύμβολον, τὸν σταυρὸν, ἀποστείλας αὐτῷ. Οὕτω τέλος ἔσχεν οὐδ' ἀναμονὴν ἢ τῶν πρέσβων ἄφιξις, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐγγυτάτων τῷ βασιλεῖ πείθουσιν αὐτὸν ἀποβαλέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ὡς ψευδομένην τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἀπατῶσαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ συμφέρον ἐθέλουσαν· δεδιέναι γάρ ὑπελάμβανον τὸν σουλτάνον διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀξιόλογον ἔχειν δύναμιν καὶ περιμένειν τοὺς κατόπιν ἀφιζομένους καὶ τῷ προσχήματι τῆς εἰρήνης μετεωρίζειν τὸν χρόνον.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν σουλτάνον κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς, ἐπανελθόντων τῶν πρέσβων, τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὠμίλουν καὶ ταύτην ὀλοσχερῶς ἐπραγματεύοντο, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκηρυκτὶ σαλπίσας τὸ ἐνυάλιον τὸν μόθον παραλόγως ἐκρότησε. Καταλαβοῦσα δ' ἡ φήμη τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξέπληξε. Τέως δ' οὖν καθοπλισάμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ ἄχρηστον πλῆθος εἰς τοῦπίσω προσήλαυνον, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατόπιν ἐδίδουν φαντασίαν πολεμικῆς παρατάξεως· τὸ δὲ πλεῖον φυγὴ τις κατεῖχεν αὐτοὺς συντεταγμένας ἰδόντας τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς φάλαγγας ἐν τάξει καὶ κόσμῳ πολεμικῆς παρατάξεως. Καὶ οἱ μὲν προήεσαν εἰς τοῦπίσω, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πανστρατιᾷ κατόπιν αὐτῶν ἐπεδίωκεν, ἕως ἄρα καιρὸς δειλῆς ὀψίας κατέλαβεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους οὐκ εἶχε καὶ ἀντιπολεμοῦντας, τὴν δὲ παρεμβολὴν ἐψιλωμένην στρατιωτῶν

151 The desertion of Joseph Trachaneiotes is not mentioned by Attaleiates: *History*, 20.19. The inference here is that he was privy to the plan already formulated by Andronikos Doukas to betray the emperor at the first opportune moment (see the following section).

learned of the sultan's arrival and his attack upon the emperor, had persuaded Rouselios, who had been eager to join the emperor, against doing so. Taking all the men with him he fled disgracefully through Mesopotamia and made for Roman territory, a coward who did not take his sovereign, much less his duty, into account.¹⁵¹

13. At all events the emperor, in keeping with the arrangements, made preparations for battle on the following day. He was drawing up his plans while still seated inside the imperial tent, when he removed the fears about the Scythians, I mean the Uzes, who were in his army by securing their allegiance with an oath made according to their customary religion. While he was attending to these matters, and the soldiers in their ranks and companies were mounting their horses, envoys arrived from the sultan proposing peace for both sides. The emperor received them and exchanged words with them as is the rule in dealing with envoys, and yet he did not receive them altogether courteously. He nevertheless agreed and gave them a cross | so that by showing it they might return to him unharmed, with whatever replies they had been instructed to convey from the sultan. Elated at the unexpected proposal, he made it clear that the sultan should vacate the place where his own camp was and encamp further away. The emperor would set up a fortified camp in the place which had previously accommodated the sultan and would then come to terms with him. But, as the people looking carefully into such matters agree, in his arrogance he inadvertently delivered victory to the enemy when he sent the most potent symbol of victory, the cross, to the sultan. The mission of the envoys had not yet ended or paused when some of the emperor's confidants convinced him to reject the offer of peace as misleading, deceptive in purpose rather than beneficial in intent. They were assuming that the sultan was afraid because he did not have a battleworthy force, and that he was awaiting the arrival of the forces trailing behind him while he stalled for time under the semblance of a peace agreement.

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14. The members of the sultan's entourage, for their part, were discussing the peace terms after the envoys returned and were working them out in full when without notice the emperor sounded the call to battle and for some strange reason embarked on the clash of arms. The report of this astonished the enemy when it reached them. When at last they were armed for battle and began herding the many non-combatants to the rear, those in the back gave the impression of a military formation. For the most part, however, their impulse was to flee as they beheld the Roman units drawn up in formation and in good military order. They fled rearwards and the emperor gave pursuit with his entire force until late evening. When the emperor encountered no further opposition or resistance and realised that his own encampment had been emptied of soldiers

149 καὶ πεζοφυλάκων ἐγίνωσκε διὰ τὸ μὴδ' εὐπορεῖν ἱκανοῦ πλήθους, ὥστε καὶ | παρατάξεις ἐν ταύτῃ καταλιπεῖν—ἤδη προεξαντληθέντων τῶν ταγματῶν ὡς προδιείληπται—ἐγὼ μὴ πλεῖον ἐπιτείνειν τὴν διώξιν, ἵνα μὴ ταύτῃ ἀφυλάκτῳ οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐπιθῶνται, καὶ ἅμα διασκοπῶν ὡς, εἰ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκμακρυνθεῖη, καταλήψεται αὐτὸν ἡ νύξ, καὶ τῆνικαὐτα οἱ Τοῦρκοι παλίντροπον θήσουσι τὴν φυγὴν ἐκηβόλοι τυγχάνοντες. Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν σημαίαν ἐπιστρέψας νόστου ἐπιμνησθῆναι παρήγγειλεν. Οἱ δὲ πόρρω τὰς φάλαγγας ἔχοντες στρατιῶται, τὰς σημαίας ἰδόντες ὀπισθορμήτους ἦταν εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα βασιλικὴν ὑπετόπασαν. Μᾶλλον δὲ τις τῶν ἐφεδρευόντων αὐτῶ, Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ τοῦ καίσαρος μὲν υἱός, τῶν δὲ βασιλέων ἐξάδελφος, προβεβουλευμένην ἔχων τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον ὑπέσπειρε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν ταχὺ τῇ παρεμβολῇ ἐπεφοίτησεν. Ὅν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μιμησάμενοι εἰς καθεῖς τὴν φυγὴν ἀμαχητὶ ἠσπάσαντο.

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τὸ παράλογον ἔσθη τὴν τῶν οἰκείων φυγὴν, ὡς ἔθος, ἀνακαλούμενος. Ἦν δὲ ὁ ἐπακούων οὐδεὶς. Τῶν δ' ἐναντίων οἱ ἐπὶ λόφων ἰστάμενοι τὸ παράλογον ἰδόντες ἐξαίφνης τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀτύχημα τῷ σουλτάνῳ σπουδῇ ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὸ ὀρώμενον καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῷ κατεπέιγουσι, φεύγοντι καὶ αὐτῷ ἤδη καὶ μακρὰν τῆς οἰκείας γενομένῳ ἐπαύλειws. Εὐθύς οὖν ἐπανελθόντος αὐτοῦ μάχη τις ἀθρόα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσήγγυται. Κελεύσας δὲ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μὴ ἐνδοῦναι μηδὲ μαλακὸν τι παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς φανῆναι, ἡμύνατο μὲν ἐρρωμένως μέχρι πολλοῦ Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων φυγῆς περιαντλησάσης ἔξω τὸν χάρακα λόγος σαφὴς οὐκ ἠκούετο, ἄλλων ἄλλοτε ἄλλα ἀφηγουμένων, τῶν μὲν τροπὴν, τῶν δὲ νίκην ἀπαγγελλόντων καὶ καταλεγόντων ἄσχημά τε καὶ ἀδιάνγνωστα, ἕως καὶ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν τινες ἤρξαντο αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποφοιτᾶν κατὰ φατρίας καὶ συμμορίας. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν

152 Skylitzes names Andronikos Doukas, whereas Attaleiates refers to him only indirectly as the cousin of the emperor's stepson Michael (*History*, 20.23); both accounts agree that Andronikos had a plot formulated beforehand (προβεβουλευμένην ἔχων τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν). On Andronikos' life and career, see Polemis, *Doukai*, 55–59.

153 The treachery of the Doukas family features even more in Zonaras' history (xviii.14.9–20), composed nearly a century later. Here is his account of what happened as the armies stood facing each other without yet fully engaging in combat: "When the day reached late afternoon, the emperor, aware that the force guarding the encampment was not very large, and concerned lest the camp be pillaged if the enemy came upon it, decided to break off battle and return to the encampment. Accordingly, he reversed the imperial standard and turned about himself, and signalled to the army to do the same. The commanders with him carried out this order calmly, but the ones who had kept their formations some distance away mistook the emperor's retirement for flight, Andronikos, son of the *kaisar*, spreading this report among his units. For the *kaisar* and his sons were forever setting traps for the emperor and plotting in secret. Straightway Andronikos arose with his men (for he was in command of no small detachment of soldiers) and headed back for the encampment at full gallop. This caused the rest to turn to flight. When the emperor saw them turning back

and foot guards because he did not have an army large enough | to leave units
 there—his regiments were already worn thin, as stated above—he decided not
 to extend the pursuit any longer lest the Turks descend upon the unguarded
 camp. At the same time he was aware that if the pursuit went on much longer
 night would overtake him, whereupon the Turks would reverse their flight and
 use their bows from a distance. For these reasons, he had the imperial stan-
 dard turned round and gave the order that it was time to return. But when the
 soldiers who were quite some way off from the main units saw the signals to
 turn back they took it to mean that the emperor had been defeated. Or rather,
 one of the people laying in wait for him, Andronikos, the son of the *kaisar* and
 nephew of the previous emperor, who had a plot already contrived,¹⁵² spread
 word to this effect and after collecting his own troops quickly headed back to
 the encampment.¹⁵³ The remaining soldiers followed his lead and *one by one*¹⁵⁴
 they welcomed the chance to flee without putting up a fight. 149

15. When the emperor saw this unexpected turn of events, he characteristi-
 cally stood his ground while trying to rally his fleeing men. No one paid him
 any heed. Some of the enemy who were stationed on the hills witnessed the
 inexplicable reversal of fortune among the Romans and swiftly reported what
 they had seen to the sultan, urging him to wheel about as he was already in
 flight and far from his own encampment. Accordingly he returned at once and
 the emperor found himself in the thick of the fighting. He enjoined the men
 around him not to give up or to slacken in any way but to acquit themselves
 as brave men, and for a long time he held out manfully. In the meantime, once
 the flight of the others had resulted in a mob scene outside the encampment,
 no exact account of the situation could be heard. From one moment to the
 next some stated one thing, others another, with some reporting a rout, oth-
 ers a victory, repeating things they did not fully grasp or know, until some of
 the Cappadocians too, in units and companies, started to desert the emperor.
 Many of the imperial grooms were returning with the horses, | stating that they 150

in disorder, he came to a halt and ordered the fleeing men to stay in place. But they were in
 no mood to listen and did not stop fleeing. When the enemy took the sudden mischance
 of the Romans' flight as a sign of divine wrath, they immediately went after the emperor.
 With the soldiers around him he received the attack and for a time they resisted stoutly,
 but as his men fell and others were captured the emperor was surrounded by the enemy.
 Even so he did not give in. After striking many and driving them off he was wounded in the
 hand, and thus worn out and no longer able to ward off his assailants, nor to flee since his
 horse had by now been brought down by arrows, the emperor of the Romans was captured
 and borne away as a captive by the enemy."

154 εἰς καθεῖς: an echo of Mark 14:19, accentuating the betrayal of the emperor.

150 βασιλικῶν | ἵπποκόμων σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ὑπέστρεφον, μὴ ἰδεῖν τὸν βασιλέα διενιστάμενοι. Καὶ ἦν σεισμὸς οἶον καὶ ὄδυρμός καὶ φόβος ἀκίχητος, καὶ οἱ Τοῦρκοι πανταχόθεν ἐπιρρέοντες. Ὅθεν καὶ ἕκαστος, ὥς εἶχεν ὁρμῆς, ἑαυτῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπραγματεύετο. Ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐναντίοι οὓς μὲν ἀνῆρουν, οὓς δὲ ζωγρίᾳ εἶλον, ἑτέρους δὲ συνεπάτουν. Καὶ ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα λίαν ἐπώδυνον καὶ πάντα θρῆνον ὑπερβάλλον καὶ κοπετόν.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα περιστοιχίσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι οὐκ εὐχείρως ἔσχον εὐθύς, ἀλλ' ἄτε στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν εἰδήμων καὶ κινδύνους προσομιλήσας πολλοῖς καρτερῶς ἡμύνατο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν τέλος ἐπλήγη φασγάνῳ τὴν χεῖρα, τοῦ τε ἵππου κατακοντισθέντος ἐκ ποδὸς ἰστάμενος διεμάχετο. Καμὼν δ' ὅμως πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀλώσιμος—φευ τοῦ πάθους—καὶ αἰχμάλωτος ὁ περιώνυμος βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων γίνεται. Καὶ τῇ μὲν νυκτὶ ἐκεῖνῃ ἐπ' ἴσης τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀτίμως καὶ περιωδύνως κατέδαρθε, μυριοὶ περικλυζόμενοι λυπηρῶν κύμασι. Τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον ἀγγελθείσης τῷ σουλτάνῳ καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλώσεως χαρὰ τις ἄπληστος καὶ ἀπιστία κατέσχευ αὐτὸν οἰόμενον (ὥς ἀληθῶς μέγα τι καὶ ὑπερμέγεθες εἶναι), ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, μετὰ νίκην τοσούτου καὶ τηλικούτου στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα ἀλώσιμον λαβεῖν καὶ ὑποχείριον. Ἀνθρωπίνως δὲ ὅμως τὸ γεγονός λογισάμενος καὶ τὴν νίκην μετριοφρόνως ἐνεγκῶν καὶ τὸ γεγονός εὐτύχημα συστολὴν μᾶλλον καὶ ψυχῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐνδείξειν καὶ τρόπων καλοκαγαθίας μεστὴν θέμενος, Θεῷ τὸ πᾶν ἀνετίθει, ὥς μείζον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχὺν ἀποτελέσας τρόπαιον. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προσαχθέντος τῷ σουλτάνῳ Ἀξάν τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων ἐν εὐτελεὶ καὶ στρατιωτικῇ ἀμπεχόνῃ διαπορῶν ἦν καὶ περὶ τούτου μαρτυρίαν ζητῶν. Ὡς δ' ἐπληροφορήθη παρὰ τῶν πρέσβων καὶ τοῦ Βασιλακίου, πεσόντος μὲν πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, οἰκτρὸν δέ τι καὶ γοερὸν ἀνοιμώξαντος, εὐθύς ὥσπερ ἐμμανὴς ἀνέθορε τοῦ θρόνου καὶ ἔστη | ὀρθός. Τεθέντα τοῦν ὅμως πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ, πατήσας, ὥσπερ ἔθος, καὶ ἀναστήσας καὶ περιπτυσάμενος «μὴ δέδιθι» ἔφη «ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀλλ' εὐελπὶς ἔσο πρὸ πάντων, ὥς οὐδενὶ προσομιλήσεις κινδύνῳ σωματικῷ, τιμηθήσῃ δ' ἀξίως τῆς τοῦ κράτους ὑπεροχῆς. Ἄφρων γὰρ ἐμοὶ λογίζεται ἐκεῖνος, ὁ μὴ τὰς ἀπροόπτους τύχας ἐξ ἀντεπιφορᾶς λογιζόμενός τε καὶ εὐλαβούμενος».

Ἐπιτάξας οὖν αὐτῷ σκηνὴν ἀποταχθῆναι καὶ θεραπείαν ἀρμόζουσαν, σύνδειπνον αὐτὸν τηλικαῦτα καὶ ὁμοδίαιτον ἀπειργάσατο, μὴ παρὰ μέρος καθίσας, ἀλλὰ σύνθρονον ἐν εὐθύτῃ τῆς ἐκκρίτου τάξεως καὶ ὁμόδοξον κατὰ τὴν τιμὴν ποιησάμενος. Δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας συνερχόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ συλλαλὼν καὶ παρακλήσεσιν ἀνακτώμενος,

155 The editor added the words ὥς ἀληθῶς μέγα τι καὶ ὑπερμέγεθες εἶναι to the text (loosely but accurately translated “that this was indeed too good to be true”), a reading based on the closely corresponding passage in Attaleiates (*History*, 20.25) but omitted here since it is not attested in any of the manuscripts.

had not seen the emperor. It was like an earthquake, with cries of woe and inexorable terror, and the Turks were streaming in from all quarters, wherefore each man concerned himself with his own survival, to the extent that his fleetness of foot allowed. Following in pursuit the enemy killed some, took others captive, and trampled others underfoot. It was an agonising experience beyond all grief and lamentation.

16. The enemy surrounded the emperor but did not find it easy to capture him right away, given his expertise in combat and warfare and his long acquaintance with danger, and he defended himself stoutly. After killing many he was finally struck in the hand by a sword, and then his horse was brought down by spears, leaving him to fight on foot. Towards evening, however, his strength spent, he made easy prey, and—oh, to suffer this!—the renowned emperor of the Romans was taken prisoner. He passed that night sleeping on the ground along with so many others, in shame and anguish, inundated by countless waves of sorrow. When the news of the emperor's capture was relayed to the sultan the following day, boundless joy took hold of him, as did disbelief, when it came to him that he had in fact taken the emperor prisoner and had him in his power after a triumph over so great and large an army.¹⁵⁵ He nevertheless took a down to earth view of what had happened and bore his victory with equanimity, regarding his success as the occasion to collect himself and as proof of a worthy soul and ways informed by virtue, and he ascribed the whole thing to God as a feat greater than what he could achieve with his own strength. Therefore, when the emperor of the Romans was brought before the sultan Axan¹⁵⁶ in modest military dress, the latter was at a loss and sought confirmation of his identity. When he was assured by the envoys and by Basilakes, who fell at his feet and let out a piercing wail, he sprang from his throne as if in a state of great excitement and stood straight up. | He performed the ritual trampling upon the emperor placed at his feet, then raised him up and embraced him. 151
“Be not afraid, O emperor” he said, “but above all be of good hope for you shall be exposed to no physical duress and you shall be honoured in a manner worthy of your high position. I would reckon that man a fool who did not take the unforeseen reversals of fortune into account and act with caution.”

17. He gave orders that a tent and a proper suite of attendants were to be set aside for the emperor, and made arrangements for him to dine with him from then on and share his table, not setting him off to one side but having him seated alongside in his rightful place of honour and accorded the same distinction in rank. Twice a day the sultan would meet and speak with him

156 A variation on the sultan's name, Alp Arslan.

μέχρις ἡμερῶν ὀκτῶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐκοινώνει αὐτῷ λόγων τε καὶ ἁλῶν μηδ' ἄχρι καὶ βραχυτάτου λόγου πρὸς τοῦτον πεπαρρηγκῶς, περὶ τινων δὲ δοκούντων σφαλμάτων ἐν τῇ ἐλάσει τῆς στρατιάς ὑπομνήσας. Διερωτήσαντος δὲ μιᾶ τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ σουλτάνου τὸν βασιλέα «τί ἂν ἔδρασας, εἰ ἔσχες ἐμὲ ὑποχεῖριον;» ἀνυποκρίτως καὶ ἄθωπεύτως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπεκρίνατο «ὅτι πολλαῖς ταῖς πληγαῖς κατεδαπάνησα ἂν σου τὸ σῶμα γίνωσκε». «Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ» φησὶν ὁ σουλτάνος «οὐ μιμήσομαί σου τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ ἀπότομον. Πλὴν ἀκούω ὅτι καὶ ὁ ὑμέτερος Χριστὸς εἰρήνην ὑμῖν νομοθετεῖ καὶ ἀμνηστίαν κακῶν καὶ τοῖς ὑπερφηάνοις ἀντικαθίσταται, τοῖς ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν». Μετὰ τοῦτο γοῦν σπονδὰς ποιησάμενοι καὶ συνθήκας εἰρηνικὰς διηνεκεῖς καὶ κῆδος ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ συστησάμενοι καὶ τὰ δίκαια ἐκάστης ἐπικρατείας, ἃ ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, θέμενοι, φιλίως τε ἀλλήλοις (ὡμολόγησαν) προσμῖγνυσθαι, μηκέτι δὲ λεηλασίας τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας παρ' οὐτίνοσούν τῶν Τούρκων γίνεσθαι ὑποστροφῆναι τε πάντας τοὺς ὅσοι ποτὲ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐστάλησαν καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν ἅπασαν καὶ μάλιστα τὸ προέχον τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔκκριτον, δεξιῶσιν ἀδρᾶν τοῦ βασιλέως προσομολογήσαντος τῷ σουλτάνῳ. Ἐσφάγησαν δὲ τῇ- | καὶ τα Λέων ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων καὶ ὁ μάγιστρος Εὐστράτιος καὶ πρωτασηκρήτης ὁ Χοιροσφάκτης, ἐάλω δὲ καὶ ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος Βασιλείος ὁ Μαλέσης.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ταῦτα οὕτωπραχθῆναι τε καὶ συμφωνηθῆναι ἀπέλυσεν ὁ σουλτάνος τὸν βασιλέα σὺν πολλῇ περιπλοκῇ καὶ συντακτηρίῳ τιμῇ προσεπιδοὺς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων πρέσβεις. Κατείχετο δὲ τὸ Μαντζικιερτ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. Ὡς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπολυθεὶς ἐπανήλθε, δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἀφέντες ἐκεῖνοι νυκτὸς ἔφυγον, περιτυχόντες δὲ πολεμίοις ἐκινδύνευσαν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς κατηντηκῶς εἰς Θεοδοσιούπολιν μετὰ τουρκικῆς σουλτανικῆς στολῆς ὑπεδέχθη φιλοτίμως. Ἡμέρας δὲ τινὰς ἐκεῖσε διεκαρτέρησε τὴν χεῖρα θεραπευόμενος καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνακτῶμενος καὶ ἄλλιν μεθαρμόζων πρὸς τὸ Ῥωμαϊκώτερον, ὡς ἐνῆν. Ἄρας δ' ἐκεῖθεν διῆει τὰς ἰβηρικὰς κώμας· συνῆσαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ σουλτάνου πρέσβεις. Κάκειθεν προσελαύνει μέχρι Κολωνείας αὐτῆς. Γενομένου δὲ ἐν τῷ Μελισσοπετρίῳ Παῦλος πρόεδρος, ὁ τῆς Ἐδέσης κατεπάνω, νύκτωρ

157 It is not clear what the Greek text means—perhaps that Romanos IV and Alp Arslan agreed to recognise the political sovereignty of both sides and to respect the boundaries between their realms.

158 The story of Diogenes' time in captivity appears to have been drawn from a letter (mentioned by Zonaras, XVIII.15.1–2, but no longer extant) that he sent to his wife Eudokia describing his experiences; there is also a remarkable concurrence between the Arabic and Greek accounts of the negotiations between the sultan and emperor. The sultan's sense of justice and moderation ("of which there are many tales told," says Zonaras, XVIII.14.21–22) make for an unflattering contrast to the treachery and cruelty of Diogenes' enemies at court. See Vryonis, "The Greek and Arabic sources on the eight day captivity of the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes"; Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 157–158.

and restore his spirits with consolatory words. Over the course of eight days he shared conversations and meals alike with him without addressing so much as the slightest word of mockery to the emperor, although he did make mention of some apparent mistakes in his conduct of the campaign. On one of the days the sultan put this question to the emperor, "What would you have done if you had me in your power?" to which the emperor flatly and bluntly replied, "Know that I would have inflicted no end of pain upon your body." "Whereas I," said the sultan, "will not imitate your severe and harsh approach. Besides, I have heard that your Christ ordains peace upon you and the forgiveness of sins, and that He opposes the high and mighty and bestows grace upon the humble." Afterwards they concluded agreements and a peace treaty in perpetuity, arranged a marriage alliance through their children, and established the respective rights of each empire,¹⁵⁷ which came into effect forthwith. They agreed to abide by mutual friendship, that there would be no more plundering of the Roman empire by any of the Turks, that all those sent against the Romans would be recalled, and that all the prisoners, especially the leading and eminent Romans, would be returned. The emperor ratified all this with the sultan with a firm handshake.¹⁵⁸ Killed in that battle were Leo, | the master of petitions, and the *magistros* and *protasekretis* Eustratios Choirosphaktes,¹⁵⁹ while the *provestiarios* Basil Maleses was captured.¹⁶⁰

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18. With matters thus arranged and settled, the sultan sent the emperor on his way with many an embrace and parting ceremony, and in addition gave him some of his own envoys. Mantzikert was held by the Romans, but while the emperor upon his release returned by another route, they abandoned it and fled during the night even though they risked running into the enemy. The emperor reached Theodosiupolis in the attire of the Turkish sultan and was received with due honour. He spent a few days there so that his hand could heal and he could recover while changing back, as far as possible, into a more Roman style of clothing once again. Setting off from there he passed through the Iberian villages accompanied by the envoys from the sultan. From there he pressed on as far as Koloneia. But when he was at Melissopetrion,¹⁶¹ the *proedros* Paul, the *katepano* of Edessa, deserted him at night and went

159 Both these men were civil officials with no military responsibilities, and were likely killed in the fighting around the emperor. Both were correspondents of Michael Psellos: Cheynet, "Mantzikert," 430, 436–437.

160 Maleses was a friend of Attaleiates and a correspondent of Psellos; he returns to the story below, VI.6, 8.

161 Tentatively identified with Pemolissa (noted above, I.1). On this placename and Romanos Diogenes' route upon his return from captivity, see Bryer and Winfield, *Pontus*, 33–34.

αὐτὸν καταλιπὼν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀπέδρα, προμαθὼν τὰ ἐκεῖσε καττυόμενα. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ὁ καῖσαρ καὶ οἱ τούτου υἱεῖς καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου ὅσοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐφρόνουν, τὴν μὲν βασιλίδαν ὑπερόριον τίθενται εἰς τὸ παρ' αὐτῆς συστάν φροντιστήριον, Πιπερούδιον οὕτω καλούμενον, ἀποκείραντες καὶ μὴ βουλομένην, τὸν δὲ Μιχαὴλ μόναρχον ἀναγορεύσαντες αὐτοκράτορα ἔγραψαν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐπανιόντα τὸν βασιλέα μὴ ὑποδέξασθαι μήτε ὡς βασιλέα τιμῆσαι. Ἦρξατο δὲ τῆς ἀποκηρύξεως πρῶτος ὁ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὕπατος, ὁ Ψελλός, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς ἔν τινι τῶν ἰδίων συγγραμμάτων μεγαλαυχεῖ. Λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ βασιλὶς τοῦ αὐτοῦ σκοποῦ ἦν, ὥστε μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὸν Διογένην ἐπανιόντα. Ἀπτέρῳ δὲ τάχει μαθὼν τοῦτο ὁ Διογένης, καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὅτι κοινῶς ἀποκεκήρυκται, φρούριόν τι κατασχών, Δόκειαν ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐκεῖσε ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο.

153 Ὁ δὲ καῖσαρ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας, ὡς ἐδόκει, ἄριστα κρατυνόμενος, | τὸν πρόεδρον Κωνσταντῖνον, τὸν βραχύτερον τῶν υἱέων, μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀδράς κατὰ τοῦ Διογένους



FIGURE 15 Seal of the “most pious empress” Eudokia. Worthy of note here is that Eudokia (right), who is never depicted on coins without her sons or husband Romanos, stands alone on this seal which will have been struck during either of her brief regencies (in 1067 or 1071, likely the latter).

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scuttling off to Constantinople since he already knew what was being fabricated there. For the *kaisar* John and his sons, along with certain members of the Senate who were of like purpose, exiled the empress to the monastery which she had founded, the one called Piperoudion,¹⁶² and had her tonsured against her will.¹⁶³ After acclaiming Michael as sole monarch, they sent messages everywhere not to welcome the emperor upon his return or to honour him as emperor. The first to make this renunciation was Psellos, the consul of the philosophers, as he himself boasts in one of his own works.¹⁶⁴ The story goes that it was also the empress's intention not to accept Diogenes when he returned.¹⁶⁵ Diogenes was quick to learn of this, and upon being informed that he had been widely renounced he took possession of a fortress named Dokeia and made his encampment there.

19. It was the *kaisar* who seemed to wield control most effectively over affairs of state. | He sent the *proedros* Constantine,¹⁶⁶ the youngest of his sons, against Diogenes with a powerful force, but when he caught up with him at Dokeia

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162 The monastery of the Theotokos of Piperoudion was located on the Asian side of the Bosphorus. Eudokia was later released from this place of exile by Nikephoros III Botaneiates.

163 According to Zonaras (xviii.14.29–30; 15.2–6), before word arrived of Diogenes' negotiations with the Sultan and his release from captivity, the court was divided between granting sole power to Eudokia, to her eldest son Michael, or making them joint rulers. But when faced with the prospect of Diogenes' return and the *status quo ante* Mantzikert, the *kaisar* John and his sons, urged on by Psellos, decided that the moment had come to get rid of the impediments to their dynastic ambitions. The *kaisar* had never forgiven Eudokia for marrying Diogenes, and it is not irrelevant here to recall that he later intervened to prevent Botaneiates from marrying her (vii.5), so determined was he to keep her out of palace affairs. It would appear from Bryennios' account that Michael Doukas was at first willing to accept the *kaisar* John's plan for a joint reign but was wary of the pressure from others to have his mother rule alone. As soon as word came of Diogenes' return, the *kaisar* acted swiftly to have Michael acclaimed and Eudokia packed off to the monastery of Piperoudion: *Histoire*, 118–124. The Chronicle of Skoutariotes also records that Michael (in fact, more likely the *kaisar* John) took the further step of stripping Diogenes' two sons by Eudokia (Nikephoros and Leo) of their imperial insignia; *Χρονικά* 11 332.5–6.

164 Skylitzes adds this detail; cf. Attaleiates, *History*, 21.3. Psellos, for reasons discussed in the Introduction, vaunts his role in calling for the deposition of Romanos Diogenes and the elevation of Michael Doukas to the throne once news of Mantzikert reached the palace: *Chronographia*, vii, 144.1–148.10 (Sewter, 356–358).

165 Whatever Eudokia did, she seems to have done out of compulsion or self-preservation (including her concern for her children by Diogenes): Vratimos, "Eudokia Makrembolitissa." Despite the testimony of Psellos, she appears to have remained loyal to her husband and opposed his deposition: Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 75–76 (no. 94), 181–182.

166 Another of the *kaisar's* sons who played an important role in denying Diogenes' return to the capital and the resumption of his rule: Polemis, *Doukai*, 59–60.

ἀφήσιν, ὃς καὶ ἐνώθεις αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ Δοκεῖα ἀπεδειλία τὸν πόλεμον. Ὅρων δὲ ὁ Διογένης ὑπερτεροῦντα τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἑαυτὸν, ἄρας ἐκείθεν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Καππαδοκίαν. Ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ πλῆθος Φράγκων τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ προσγίνεται, καὶ Κρισπίνος αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν ὁμογενῶν, ὃν ἀνίων ὁ Διογένης ἐν Ἀβύδῳ περιώρισε πρότερον. Θεόδωρον οὖν πρόεδρον τὸν Ἀλυάτην, ἄνδρα γενναῖον καὶ ἐπιφανῆ, μεγέθει τε καὶ θεᾷ θαυμασιώτατον, στέλλει κατ' αὐτῶν. Ἐρρωμένως δ' ἀντιταξαμένων τῶν περὶ τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον ἡττῶνται οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλυάτην, ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύττεται σκηνικοῖς σιδήροις. Περιώδυνος δὲ ὁ Διογένης ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι γεγινώς εἰς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐνέβαλε, πανταχόθεν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν προσκαλούμενος. Αὐτὸς δὲ διήγεν ἐν τῷ Τυροποιῷ, φρούριον δὲ τοῦτο λίαν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἀπόκρημνον.

Προσκαλεσάμενος οὖν ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ τὸν Ἀντιοχείας δοῦκα, τὸν Χατατούριον, σύμμαχον κατὰ τοῦ Διογένηος οὐκ ἔσχεν ὑπακούοντα· προσέθετο γὰρ τῷ Διογένει. Καὶ τοῦτον παραλαβὼν παραγίνεται εἰς Κιλικίαν, ἔνθα καὶ προσεκαρτέρει τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σουλτάνου ἀναμένων βοήθειαν, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα διάγων ἐκέισε, ἀλσεινοτέραν τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ πάλιν πρὸς συλλογὴν στρατοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἀπησχόλει. Ὁ δὲ γε Κωνσταντῖνος μετὰ τὸ τὸν Διογένην ὑποχωρῆσαι ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον.

Ἄντ' ἐκείνου δὲ στέλλεται κατὰ τοῦ Διογένηος ὁ πρόεδρος Ἀνδρόνικος, ὁ τοῦ καίσαρος υἱός. Διανείμας δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις σιτηρέσια, διὰ τῆς κλεισούρας τοῦ Ποδανδοῦ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κιλικίαν, ἔνθα συναντᾷ αὐτῷ ὁ Χατατούριος, ὃν καὶ πρὸς βραχὺ μαχεσάμενον ἀναιροῦσιν οἱ τοῦ Ἀνδρονίκου. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων συμφυγόντων εἰς Ἄδαναν, ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Διογένης διέτριβε, πολιορκίᾳ τὴν πόλιν διέλαβεν ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος. Συνηγκῶν δὲ γενομένων ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Διογένην ἀποθέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν τρίχα τε καρέντα διάγειν ἰδιωτικῶς, ἔξις τοῦ κάστρου μελανειμολῶν καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀποκλαιόμενος. Νόστου δὲ εὐθὺς μιμνήσκεται ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ τὸν Διογένην μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐφελκόμενος μελανειμονοῦντα, ἐν εὐτελεῖ ὑποζυγίῳ ὀχούμενον δι' ἐκείνων τῶν κωμῶν καὶ τῶν χωρῶν αἰς τὸ πρὶν ἰσόθεος ἐγνωρίζετο. Μέχρι δὲ τοῦ Κοτυαεῖου τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ὀδυνηρῶς ποιησάμενος—ἦν γὰρ νοσηλευόμενος ἀπὸ κοιλιακῆς διαθέσεως ἐκ κωνείου προποθέντος αὐτῷ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπιγενομένης—ἐκέισε κατεσχέθη, ἄχρις ἂν ἐκ βασιλέως τὸ ποιητέον αὐτῷ ὀρισθῇ. Ἀλλ' ἦκεν ἡμέραις ὕστερον

167 Noted above, IV.23. Chatatourios (Khatchatour) was another of the Armenian commanders who remained loyal to the deposed emperor and aided his efforts to reclaim the throne. See Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 76–77 (no. 95), 397–398.

168 Bryennios tells a different story at greater length which denigrates Chatatourios. Unhorsed while fleeing with his men, he hid in a thicket until discovered by Andronikos' soldiers. He begged them not to kill him and was stripped of his possessions and clothing. Another soldier who came upon him spared him and honoured his request to be taken to Andronikos. In gratitude for the latter's mercy, Chatatourios fetched a jewel which he had hidden near the thicket and presented it to Andronikos. Skylitzes' report that he was killed in the fight

he shrank from giving battle. Seeing that Constantine was no match for him, Diogenes set off from there and went to Cappadocia. In the meantime a large number of Franks went over to Constantine, as did Crispin with his fellow countrymen. This is the man whom Diogenes, upon returning from campaign, had earlier sent into exile at Abydos. And so to deal with them Diogenes sent the *proedros* Theodore Alyates, a valiant and distinguished man most remarkable for his size and appearance. When the forces ranged with Constantine put up a stiff fight, Alyates' men were defeated. He himself was taken prisoner and had his eyes gouged out with iron tent pegs. Greatly disturbed at this turn of events, Diogenes made his way to Cappadocia while summoning an army from every direction. He himself bided his time at Tyropoion, this being a very strong fortress perched on a high and steep location.

20. Meanwhile Constantine summoned Chatatourios, the *doux* of Antioch, to join forces with him against Diogenes, but he could not win him over. Chatatourios sided with Diogenes.¹⁶⁷ After receiving this man, Diogenes went to Cilicia where he remained as he awaited help from the sultan. At the same time he could spend the winter there, knowing that Cilicia offered warmer climes, as he busied himself collecting an army once more. Constantine, for his part, had returned to Byzantium after Diogenes withdrew.

21. In his stead the *proedros* Andronikos, the son of the *kaisar*, was sent out against Diogenes. After distributing provisions to his soldiers he made his way through the *kleisoura* of Podandos to Cilicia where Chatatourios engaged him. Andronikos' men slew him after a brief fight.¹⁶⁸ The others fled together to Adana, where Diogenes was staying, and Andronikos isolated the city by laying siege to it. After agreements were concluded on the terms that Diogenes would abdicate the throne and live out his life in private with his hair shorn,¹⁶⁹ he emerged from the fortress dressed in black | and bewailing his state. Andronikos was of a mind to return at once, and he dragged Diogenes along with him, dressed in black and mounted on a miserable beast of burden, through those villages and regions where in times previous he had been acclaimed the equal of a god. All the way to Kotyaeion he made the journey in some pain—for he had been taken ill with a stomach condition caused by hemlock that had been offered to him out of treacherous intent—and he was detained there until the emperor decided what should be done with him. A few days later came the decision against a man suffering needlessly which decreed

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is at odds with Bryennios' story, but we may infer from it that Chatatourios was subsequently put to death.

169 In other words, as a monk.

ἢ κατὰ τοῦ μάτην δυστυχούντος ἀπόφασις διοριζομένη τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ διο-
 ρυγῆναι. Οὐς καὶ παραυτίκα ἐξορύττεται τῶν ἀρχιερέων, τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦναι λόγον
 συμπαθείας ἐσταλμένων, μηδὲως ἐπαρηξάντων αὐτῷ· οἵτινες ἦσαν ὁ τε Χαλκηδόνος,
 ὁ Ἡρακλείας καὶ ὁ Κολωνείας Θεόφιλος, οὐς καὶ τῶν ὄρκων ὑπεμίμνησκε καὶ τῶν ἐκ
 τοῦ θεοῦ νεμέσεων. Οἱ δέ, καίπερ βοηθήσαι προαιρούμενοι, ἀσθενῶς εἶχον καὶ ἀδυ-
 νάτως ἀνδρῶν ὠμηστῶν καὶ ἀπηγῶν ἀναρπασάντων αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ
 ἐξορυξάντων ἀνηλεῶς καὶ ἀφιλανθρώπως. Προσενεχθεὶς δὲ ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῷ ὑποζυγίῳ
 μέχρι τῆς Προποντίδος ὥσπερ πτώμα σεσηπός, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχων ἐξορωρυγμέ-
 νους, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξωδηκός, σκωλήκων βρῦον καὶ δυσωδίας,
 ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐπιβιούς ἐπωδύνως καὶ πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς ὁδωδώς, ἀπολείπει τὸν βίον
 τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Πρώτῃ τὸν χοῦν ἀποθέμενος, ἔνθα νέον ἐκεῖνος ἐδείματο φροντιστήριον,
 κηδευθεὶς πολυτελῶς παρὰ τῆς ὁμευνέτιδος καὶ βασιλίδος Εὐδοκίας, μνημῆν καταλι-
 πὼν πειρασμῶν καὶ δυστυχημάτων ὑπερβαιόντων ἀκρόασιν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τοσούτοις
 καὶ τηλικούτοις κακοῖς οὐδὲν βλάσφημον ἢ ἀπόφημον ἐφθέγγετο, εὐχαριστῶν δὲ διε-
 τέλει, φέρων εὐμαρῶς τὰ προσπίπτοντα. Λέγεται δὲ τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν πραχθέντα γνώμης |
 155 ἄτερ τοῦ βασιλέως γενέσθαι Μιχαήλ, ὡς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ἐνωμῶτως διισχυρίζετο, τοῦ
 καίσαρος ὑπὸ σκότῳ καὶ ἀφανείᾳ ταῦτα τελεσιουργούντος καὶ διαταττομένου. Οὗτος
 ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Ναζιανζοῦ εἰς μητροπόλεως ἀνεβίβασε δίκαιον. Ἐβα-
 σίλευσε δὲ ἄχρι τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτοῦ ἔτη τρία καὶ μῆνας ὀκτώ.



FIGURE 16 Seal of Andronikos Doukas *protoproedros*, *protovestiarios*, and Domestic of the Schools of the East (ca. 1072–1077). The son of the *kaisar* John, brother of the emperor Michael VII, and father-in-law of Alexios I Komnenos (although he died before this vital marriage alliance was made), Andronikos was a central figure in the dynastic and military politics that changed the course of Byzantine history. BZS 1958.106.1355. © DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION, WASHINGTON DC

that his eyes be gouged out. They were torn out right away while the archpriests who had been sent to offer him a word of comfort did nothing to help. These were the bishops of Chalcedon and Herakleia, as well as bishop Theophilos of Koloneia, whom Diogenes reminded of their oaths and of divine retribution.¹⁷⁰ Although they were inclined to come to his aid, they were in a weak and powerless position when brutal, cruel men seized him and gouged out his eyes without pity or mercy. He was conveyed on his miserable pack-animal as far as the Propontis, just as a decaying corpse, with his eyes gouged out, his head and features swollen, festering with maggots and a foul stench. After a few days of clinging to life in agony and putrefying even before death, he departed this life and was buried on the island of Prote where he had founded a new monastery.¹⁷¹ He was given a lavish funeral by his wife, the empress Eudokia, bequeathing to posterity a memory of trials and tribulations beyond all telling. In the course of such great and towering evils not a single blasphemous or unseemly word did he utter, but he continued to give thanks and readily bear what had befallen him. People say that the things done to him took place | with-
out the knowledge of the emperor Michael, as he himself afterwards affirmed
under oath, and that it was all the work of the *kaisar* John operating in the
shadows behind the scene.¹⁷² The emperor Romanos raised the bishopric of
Nazianzos to the rank of metropolitan see. Until his captivity he had been
emperor for three years and eight months.

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170 Another instance of an oath violated and the failure of churchmen to uphold their role as guarantors; see Krallis, *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 199–205.

171 Diogenes was blinded on June 29, 1072; he died five weeks later on August 4. The monastery of Prote is known only in connection with the death and burial of this emperor.

172 Skylitzes here seems to follow Psellos who exonerates Michael VII (and hence himself): *Chronographia*, VII, 163.6–164.11 (Sewter, 365–366); Psellos' cringeworthy letter of consolation to the blinded Romanos also absolves Michael of responsibility: see Jeffreys-Lauxtermann, *Letters of Psellos*, 349–350 (S 82). In his narrative of Diogenes' attempt to regain power Bryennios likewise does his best to exculpate Andronikos Doukas: *Histoire*, 124–140. Zonaras states that the *kaisar* John took advantage of Michael's inexperience and good nature to take this cruel action against a man he hated (xviii.15.26–28). On the assignment or avoidance of blame for Diogenes' fate, see Vryonis, "The blinding of Romanos IV."

Τούτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ὁ Μιχαὴλ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ἐπεικὴς τε ἐδόκει καὶ γέρων ἐν νέοις διὰ τὸ παρειμένον καὶ ἀναπεπτωκὸς καὶ ἀπαλόν. Προσελάβετο δὲ διὰ τοῦτο Ἰωάννην τὸν τῆς Σίδης μητροπολίτην εἰς τὸ τὰ κοινὰ διοικεῖν, εὐνοῦχον μὲν τὴν φύσιν, δραστήριον δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδέξιον, πρωτοπρόεδρον τῶν πρωτοσυγγέλλων τυγχάνοντα, ἄνδρα πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς σεμνυνόμενον. Ὅθεν τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔκλυτον καὶ περὶ τὸ διοικεῖν τὰ κοινὰ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, θῆλυ καὶ ἀναπεπτωκὸς καὶ ἀδέξιον ὁ τούτου τρόπος καὶ ἡ περὶ ταῦτα ἐντρέχεια καὶ σπουδὴ ἐπεκόσμει τε καὶ κατήρτυε. Παρεμίγη δὲ τῷ σίτῳ τούτῳ καὶ ζιζάνιον. Ἦν γάρ τις εὐνοῦχος Νικηφόρος ὄνομα, ὃν ὑποκορίζοντες Νικηφορίτζην ὠνόμαζον, ἐκ Βουκελλαρίων ἔλκων τὸ γένος, δεινὸς ἐπινοῆσαι συγχύσεις καὶ ῥάψαι πράγματα καὶ τρικυμίας ἐγείραι καὶ ἀκαταστασίας ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ καταστάσει ἐπενεγκεῖν. Ὅς εἰς τάξιν σεκρετικοῦ τῷ πατρὶ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ ὑπηρετήσάμενος, ἐπεὶ σκαιὸς καὶ διαβολεὺς ἐφάνη καὶ σοφιστὴς τῶν κακῶν κερδαλέος καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ κατὰ τῆς βασιλίδος μοιχείας ἐγκλημα ὑποψιθυρίσας φθόνῳ τοῦ συνεξυπηρετουμένου, δοῦξ δὲ Ἀντιοχείας ἀναδειχθεὶς καὶ ἅπαξ καὶ δεῦτερον μυρίων ὀχλήσεων καὶ ταραχῶν τῇ Συρίᾳ γέγονεν αἴτιος. Ὅμως δ' οὖν κατηγορηθεὶς, συλληφθεὶς ἐκεῖσε τῇ τοῦ αἵματος φρουρᾷ παραδίδοται, καὶ ἦν ἔμφρουρος ἐπὶ χρόνον τινα ὁ πρὶν περὶδοξος γνωριζόμενος. Ἀναρρυσθεὶς δὲ τῇ τοῦ Διογένους ἀναγορεύσει καὶ εἰς νησὶν τινα ἐξορισθεὶς, ὑποσχέσει χρημάτων δικαστῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ Πελοποννήσου προβέβληται



FIGURE 17 Seal of Michael VII Doukas "emperor of the Romans".

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VI The Reign of Michael VII Doukas
(24 October 1071–31 March 1078)

1. That was how Michael succeeded to the throne. A mild-mannered sort of person, he seemed an old man among young men owing to his relaxed, retiring, and soft ways.¹⁷³ For this reason he engaged John, the metropolitan of Side, to administer public affairs. Although a eunuch, he was efficient and versatile, a *protoproedros* of the *protosynkelloi*, and a man worthy of respect for all his virtues. Hence his character and his skill and energy in public affairs offset and corrected the emperor's infirm, or to put it this way, his passive, lax, and maladroitness in handling of public affairs. But there was a tare mixed in with the good grain.¹⁷⁴ For there was a certain eunuch by the name of Nikephoros, whom people used to call by the diminutive Nikephoritzes.¹⁷⁵ He traced his ancestry from the theme of the Boukellarion and had a gift for sowing confusion, tailoring affairs, whipping up turbulence in calm waters, and bringing instability to a stable situation. He had been serving in the office of secretary to Michael's father¹⁷⁶ when he revealed his true colours as a sinister and fiendish type, a wily manipulator of evils who even whispered an accusation of adultery against the empress into the emperor's ear out of spite towards one of his fellow secretaries.¹⁷⁷ Named *doux* of Antioch a first time and then again, he was responsible for countless disasters and upheavals in Syria. Accused and arrested, he was sent to a prison for murderers, and a for a time the man once recognised as an eminent figure languished in prison. Removed from the prison and exiled to an island at the time when Diogenes was acclaimed emperor, he was, on his promise of money, appointed judge of the theme of Hellas and the Peloponnese | and began attending to matters there. To the detriment of the 156

173 On his life and character, see Polemis, *Doukai*, 42–46.

174 Referring to the parable in Matthew 13:24–30.

175 Zonaras (xviii.16.2) explains that he had been brought to the palace at a young age by Constantine Monomachos and called by the diminutive Nikephoritzes because of his youth.

176 Constantine x Doukas.

177 Identified as Michael of Nikomedeia by Attaleiates.

καὶ τὰ κατ' ἐκείνην ἦν διοικῶν. Τοῦτον ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ μεταπεμπόμενος εἰς τὴν τῶν κοινῶν διοίκησιν κατεστήσατο, λογοθέτην αὐτὸν προβαλλόμενος. Γίνεται οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀλώσιμος ταῖς αὐτοῦ τερατείαις καὶ μαγγανείαις, οἷα μὴ εὐμοιρῶν φρονήματος ἀνδρείου καὶ σταθιροῦ. Διὸ καὶ ἐξωθεῖται μὲν ὁ Σίδης, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναδέχεται

ἀθύρμασι τοῦ Μιχαὴλ καὶ παιδιαῖς παιδαριώδεσι προσκειμένου, τοῦ ὑπάτου τῶν φιλοσόφων, τοῦ Ψελλοῦ, πρὸς ἅπαν ἔργον ἀδέξιον καὶ ἄπρακτον αὐτὸν ἀπεργασάμενου. Παραγκωνίζεται δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ βασιλεύοντος θεῖον, Ἰωάννην τὸν καίσαρα, καὶ τῷ ἀνειψίῳ καὶ βασιλεῖ ὑποπτον ἀπεργάζεται. Καὶ πάντας ἀπλῶς τοὺς οἰκιοτάτους ὡς πολεμιοτάτους συκοφαντεῖ καὶ πάντων ἀποξενοῖ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως διάθεσιν καὶ ὅλον τὸν μεираκίσκον ὑποποιεῖται ἀνακτα. Κἀκεῖνο πᾶσι βασιλικὸν ἐνομίζετο πρόσταγμα, ὃ τῷ μηχανορράφῳ τούτῳ ἐδόκει. Ἐντεῦθεν κατηγορίαι καὶ ἀπαιτήσεις ἀθῶων καὶ ἀκατακρίτων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τίσεις ἀχρεωστήτων καὶ κρίσεις τῷ δημοσίῳ τὸ πλεόν, οὐ τῷ δικαίῳ, βραβεύουσai, ἀφ' ὧν δημεύσεις καθολικαὶ τε καὶ μερικαὶ, κατηγορίαι



FIGURE 18 Seal of Nikephoros *sebastophoros* and *doux* of the Great Theoupolis Antioch, and man of our mighty and holy emperor (1062–1063 or 1067). Twice during the reign of Constantine x Doukas, the eunuch Nikephoritzes gained and lost the powerful office of *doux* of Antioch (to all intents and purposes the Byzantine capital of the east). The designation “man of the emperor” begins to appear on seals during the reign of Constantine ix Monomachos and points to a personal connection or profession of fidelity between subject and sovereign outside the normal hierarchy of service. This may explain why Nikephoritzes, “man” of the emperor Constantine x Doukas, reappears in such an influential role once his son Michael vii Doukas came to power after the Diogenes interlude during which Nikephoritzes’ career went into temporary eclipse.

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Roman empire, the emperor Michael recalled this man and put him in charge of public affairs after promoting him to the position of *logothetes*. The emperor was taken in by his outrageous machinations and tricks since he was not overly endowed with resolute and firm judgment. As a result the metropolitan of Side found himself elbowed aside,¹⁷⁸ and that man Nikephoritzes brought everything under his own control.¹⁷⁹

2. Meanwhile, Michael devoted himself to childish pastimes and occupations thanks to the consul of the philosophers, Psellos, who had rendered him unsuited and useless for every task.¹⁸⁰ Nikephoritzes also supplanted the emperor's uncle, the *kaisar* John, and made him suspect in the eyes of his nephew the emperor. Plainly and simply, by painting his closest associates as deeply hostile to him and turning the emperor's mind against them all he gained complete domination over the childlike sovereign. Anything regarded by all as an imperial decree was in fact something which that suited that schemer's purposes. From this point on there were accusations and demands made against men who were guiltless and condemned by no court, payments exacted from those who owed nothing, and decisions rendered more in the interest of the treasury and not of justice, which resulted in wholesale or partial

178 This was not the end of John's career. Zonaras, XVIII.19.26, states that since his advanced age and infirmity prevented him from taking a sure grip on administration, Nikephoros Botaneiates recalled the metropolitan of Side and put him in charge of public affairs.

179 In contrast to this damning portrait other sources present Nikephoritzes as an extraordinarily capable and energetic administrator in fiscal and financial, military, and internal affairs: Bryennios, *Histoire*, 142–144, and Kekaumenos, *Sovety i rasskazy*, 266.22–268.13. See also Lemerle, *Cinq Etudes*, 300–302.

180 Another hostile reference to Psellos not derived from Attaleiates; cf. *History*, 22.4.

συχναὶ καὶ πίστις εὐθύς ἀπαραλόγιστος, καὶ τῶν πασχόντων θρήνος ἑλεεινὸς καὶ τῶν γυμνουμένων κωκυτὸς ἀφόρητος καὶ πολύδακρυς.

Ἀλλὰ τούτων οὕτω γινομένων, θεήλατος ὀργή τὴν ἑῴαν κατειλήφει. Τῶν γὰρ πρὸς Διογένην εἰρηνικῶν συμφώνων ἀργῶν μεινάντων καὶ ἀπράκτων θυμῷ συνεχόμενοι οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἐφ' οἷς, ὃν αὐτοὶ ὡς ἐχθρὸν εἰληφότες καὶ ὑποχείριον πάσης κομιδῆς καὶ τιμῆς ἡξιώκασιν καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐπικρατείᾳ αὐθις ἀποκατέστησαν, τούτῳ οἱ οἰκεῖοι μανιωδῶς ὡς ἐχθρῷ προσενεχθέντες ἀσπόνδῳ, ἃ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐχρῆν αὐτὸν παθεῖν, οἱ γνωστοὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης νόμοις ἀγόμενοι διαπεπράχασιν καὶ οἰκτίστω καὶ ἐπιδύνῳ θανάτῳ παραδεδώκασιν—ὑπερήλγουν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δεινῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἀπαρηγόρητον— | ἄραντες ἐκ Περσίδος παμπληθεῖ, ὡς μηδενὸς ὄντος τοῦ κωλύοντος, τοῖς ῥωμαϊκοῖς ἐπιστρατεύουσι θέμασι καὶ ταῦτα κατελυμήναντο, οὐ σποράδες ἐπιφοιτῶντες ὡς τὸ πρὶν καὶ φυγάδες αὐτόχρημα, μάλλον δὲ ὡς δεσπόται τῶν προστυχόντων κατακυριεύοντες.

Ταῦτα διενωτιζόμενος ὁ βασιλεύων, συναγείρας στρατόπεδον ἱκανὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῷ ἐφίστησι τὸν Κομνηνὸν Ἰσαάκιον. Συνίστησι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Ῥουσέλιον τὸν Λατίνον μετὰ φραγκικοῦ συντάγματος εἰς τετρακοσίους Φράγκους ἀναβαίνοντος. Ἐν τῷ Ἰκονίῳ δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου γενομένου παντός, φιλονεικίας συμβάσης τινός, ἀποστατεῖ τῆνικαῦτα ὁ Ῥουσέλιος προφανῶς καὶ τοὺς Φράγκους παραλαβὼν ἑτέραν ἐτράπετο καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπιτρέπει θελήματι. Ἀνελθὼν δὲ εἰς Μελιτηνὴν, Τοῦρκοις περιτυχὼν ἀριστεύει ἐξ ἐφόδου τούτοις ἐπείσπεσών. Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν στράτευμα τῇ Καισαρέων παραβάλλει. Σκεψάμενος δὲ ὁ Κομνηνὸς τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐξ ἐφόδου προσβαλεῖν προῆει μὲν διὰ τῆς νυκτός, ὡς ἂν ἀπαρασκευοῖς ἐμπέσῃ αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἀσχεῖ τῆς οἰκειᾶς βουλῆς· ἐμπαρασκευοῖς γὰρ καὶ ἡτοιμασμένοις ἐντυγχάνει αὐτοῖς. Συρρήγνυσι δὲ τούτοις καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος καὶ ἡττᾶται εὐθύς καὶ αἰχμάλωτος αὐτίκα γίνεται. Ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ χάρακι ἅπαντα, πολλῶν μὲν Ῥωμαίων πεσόντων, ζωγρίᾳ δὲ ληφθέντων τινῶν, πλειόνων δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν εὐραμένων φυγῇ.

Τῆς δὲ φήμης τὸν βασιλέα καταλαβούσης ἔδοξε μὲν τι σκυθρωπὸν παθεῖν, οὐ μὴν δὲ παντάπασιν τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἀπέσχετο ταῖς τοῦ Νικηφόρου ὑποθημοσύναις· μὴ ἔχων γὰρ φύσιν διαγνωστικὴν καὶ ἔξιν διακριτικὴν καὶ ἐγγρηγοριαν πᾶν τὸ προσαττόμενον παρὰ τοῦ Νικηφόρου ἐποίει ὥσπερ ἀνδράποδον. Ἐκτοτε οὖν ἀδείας λαβόμενοι οἱ τὴν ἑῴαν κατατρέχοντες Ἀγαρηνοὶ οὐκ ἐπαύοντο καθ' ἐκάστην κεραΐζοντες ταύτην καὶ καταλυμαίνόμενοι.

181 Nephew of the emperor Isaac I Komnenos and elder brother of the future emperor Alexios I Komnenos. He had been exiled for a time because of his (and his mother Anna Dalassene's) support for Romanos IV Diogenes, but his promotion here to Domestic of the Schools, likely in the spring of 1073, following his marriage to a cousin of Michael VII's wife shortly before, show the emperor's attempt to cultivate a Komnenos-Doukas alliance.

182 He seems to have inherited command of this contingent upon the death of Robert Crispin in 1073.

183 The story of Roussel's defection, and the defeat, capture, and ransom of Isaac Komnenos (a

seizures of property, a great many indictments, evidence immediately taken at face value, pitiful lamentation from the victims, and unbearable cries of woe and floods of tears from the dispossessed.

3. While this was going on, the wrath of God descended upon the east. Since the peace treaties with Diogenes were left in abeyance and unratified, the Turks were angered that the man whom they had captured as an enemy, honoured with all due solicitude and respect while in their hands, and restored to his own dominion, his own people had in their madness treated as an implacable foe. What Diogenes ought to have suffered at the hands of the Turks, his friends and kinsmen, while technically in a state of peace, did to him and subjected him to a miserable and agonising death—this foreign people felt his loss quite keenly because of the enormity of his suffering and the ineffable sorrow of his end. | Surging out of Persia *en masse* the Turks marched into the Roman themes and lay waste to them, for there was no one to oppose them. They did not invade in scattered bands, as they had done before, and clear off straightway, but assumed control over everything in their path.

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4. When the emperor received word of these developments, he assembled a sufficiently large army and put Isaac Komnenos in command.¹⁸¹ At his side he also placed the Latin Rouselios with a Frankish contingent of more than four hundred Franks.¹⁸² While the entire army was at Ikonion, there was some discord, whereupon Rouselios openly defected.¹⁸³ Taking his Franks with him he went his separate way and struck out on his own. On his way to Melitene he chanced upon some Turks and bested them after he went charging at them. The rest of the army arrived at the city of Kaisareia. After deciding to make an assault on the enemy, Komnenos headed out during the night to catch them off guard, but he suffered the opposite of what he intended when he found them both ready and prepared. He fought a battle with them that he did not want to fight, and was in no time defeated and taken prisoner. Every last thing in the encampment was captured, many Romans fell, a few were taken prisoner, and the majority of them found safety in flight.

5. When report of this reached the emperor, he seemed downcast, but in no wise did he, thanks to the influence of Nikephoros, abstain from his political injustices or the errors of his ways. Lacking a perceptive nature and a discerning and alert cast of mind, he did everything at Nikephoros' bidding just as would a slave. From this point on, the offspring of Hagar raided the east with impunity and did not cease from ransacking | and looting this region day by day.

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classic example of a commander chosen for loyalty to the regime rather than competence) is told at length in Bryennios, *Histoire*, 144–156. See also Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 78–79 (no. 97).

Ἀλλαξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰσαακίου τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ βαλαντίου ἀδρου, αὐθις στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ καῖσαρ Ἰωάννης προχειρίζεται· ὃς διαπεραιωθεὶς καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Δορυλαίου προΐων, ἄρας ἐκείθεν πορρωτέρω πεπόρευται καὶ μέχρι τῆς γεφύρας τοῦ Τζούμπου κατέλαβε. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ περαιωθῆναι τὸν Σαγγάριον ἀφικνεῖται ὁ Ῥουσέλιος ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ σπουδῇ πολλῇ καὶ στρατοπεδεῖαν ἐκέισε πῆγνυσι. Πέμπας δ' ὁ καῖσαρ ὥσανει προσκρούσαντι καὶ ἐξαμαρτόντι, εἰ γνωσιμαχῆσαι καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐπιγνοίῃ δεσπότην, συμπάθειαν καὶ ἀμνηστίαν κακῶν ἐπηγγέλλετο. Φρυαξαμένου δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου οἶα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ θαρροῦντος καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐρειδομένου ἄπρακτος ἢ πρεσβεία ἐδείχθη καὶ κενή· διὸ καὶ πολέμῳ κριθῆναι τὸ πᾶν ἔδοξε. Διαβάς οὖν τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ συστράτηγος αὐτοῦ Νικηφόρος ὁ Βοτανειάτης μετὰ τῆς λοιπῆς πληθύος αὐτίκα πρὸς πόλεμον τῷ Ῥουσελίῳ προσέβαλε. Μὴ ἐνεγκόντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν τῶν Φράγκων ἐπίθεσιν φυγὴ γίνεται παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ ἀλώσιμος ὁ καῖσαρ τῷ Ῥουσελίῳ καθίσταται καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, τοῦ Βοτανειάτου μόνου φυγόντος σὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν. Ἐγεγόνει τοίνυν ὁ Ῥουσέλιος ἐκ τούτου μέγας καὶ διαβόητος τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ κατορθώματος. Χωρῶν δὲ κατευθὺ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὸν καῖσαρα εἶχε σιδηρόδετον καὶ πολλοῖς ἀναιοῖς περιαντλούμενον καὶ λυπηρῶν κύμασιν ἀλλεπαλλήλοις βαλλόμενον. Ὡς δὲ προσηγγέθη καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ οἰκειακὸν ἀτύχημα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Φράγκου ἐπιδημία τοὺς πάντας ἐξέπληξε, πολλή τις ἀθυμία καὶ μέριμνα κατέσχευεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἅπαντας. Τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου οὖν ὁδοιορίαν διηनुκῶς ὁ Ῥουσέλιος, ἐπαγόμενος μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν τε καῖσαρα καὶ τὸν Μαλέσην Βασίλειον, ἄρτι τῆς σὺν τῷ Διογένει αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπολυθέντα, κατασκηνοῖ ἐν Χρυσοπόλει καὶ ταῖς ἐκείσε οἰκίαις ἐνήκε τὸ πῦρ καὶ πολλὴν ἀνήγειρε τοῖς ἐποίκοις τὴν βοήν καὶ τὸν κωκυτὸν.

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Καταμαλάξαι δὲ σπεύδων ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ | βαρβάρου θρασύτητα ἀξιώμα τε ὑπισχνεῖται κουροπαλάτου δοῦναι αὐτῷ, προσεπιπέμπει δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα. Μεταπέμπεται δὲ καὶ Τούρκους κατ' αὐτοῦ λαθραίως, πολλαῖς ὑποσχέσεσι πείθων τὸν Ῥουσέλιον καταγωνίσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀσθενῆ πρὸς τοσαύτην πληθύν, ἀπολύσας τῶν δεσμῶν τὸν καῖσαρα ἀναγορεύει βασιλέα, εὐφημίαις μεγαλοπρεπέσι καὶ διατόροις τὸ κράτος αὐτῷ συγκαταστησάμενος. Μήπω δὲ τῆς φήμης ἀπλωθείσης μὴδὲ πλατυνθείσης τῆς τοῦ καῖσαρος ἀναρρήσεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μῆτε στρατιωτῶν προσχωρησάντων, ἐξαίφνης περὶ τὸ ὅρος τὸν Σόφωνα πληθὺς τουρκικὴ

184 A lengthier account of this campaign is given by Bryennios, *Histoire*, 166–172.

185 It was in this battle that the *kaisar*'s son Andronikos Doukas suffered the wounds which were to prove fatal.

186 Skylitzes makes it appear that Botaneiates extricated himself from a battle in which he took full part. On the other hand, Bryennios states that he was in charge of the rear-guard contingent and chose to make his escape rather than go to the aid of the *kaisar* John when he saw the Franks prevailing: *Histoire*, 170. This may in turn explain Botaneiates' relative absence from the scene between 1074 and 1078.

6. After Isaac was released from captivity in exchange for many goods and a hefty sack of money, the *kaisar* John was in turn appointed supreme commander.¹⁸⁴ He crossed the straits and advanced as far as Dorylaion. Proceeding from there he pressed further on and reached the Zompos bridge. But before he could cross the Sangarios river, Rouselios arrived swiftly from the Armeniakon theme and pitched his encampment there. The *kaisar* opened negotiations with him as though with a man in a weak position who had done wrong, and offered to forgive him and grant him amnesty for his crimes if he admitted his wrongdoing and recognised his proper overlord. But since the barbarian took great pride in his prowess in arms and had a very large force to back him up, the embassy proved to be unsuccessful and in vain. It therefore appeared that the whole issue would be decided by force of arms. The *kaisar* crossed the river, and his fellow commander Nikephoros Botaneiates along with the rest of the host immediately joined battle with Rouselios. When the Romans could not withstand the onslaught of the Franks, the whole army was routed, and the *kaisar* became Rouselios' prisoner, as did many others.¹⁸⁵ Botaneiates alone was able to get away with a few of his men.¹⁸⁶ As a result of his towering success Rouselios became powerful and renowned. He made straight for Byzantium, keeping the *kaisar* in chains, overwhelmed with torments and buffeted by one wave of pain after another. When word of his uncle's misfortune reached the emperor, and the onset of the Frank struck panic into one and all, feelings of despondency and despair came over him and everyone else. By that time Rouselios had completed his march, bringing the *kaisar* along with him as well as Basil Maleses who had recently been released from captivity together with Diogenes. He pitched camp at Chrysopolis where he set fire to the houses and caused a great uproar and shrieks of lamentation among the inhabitants.

7. In his haste to appease the barbarian's boldness, | the emperor promised to grant him the title of *kouropalates* and, on top of that, sent his wife and children to him. He also secretly summoned the Turks against him, persuading them with many promises to make war on him. Realising his own weakness in comparison with so great a horde, Rouselios released the *kaisar* from his chains and proclaimed him emperor, investing him with power amidst loud and magnificent acclamations.¹⁸⁷ The news of the *kaisar*'s acclamation had not yet gone out or spread widely, for which reason the soldiers had not gone over to him, when all of a sudden a large force of Turks, thought to be five or six thousand

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187 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 79–80 (no. 99).

160 παραφαίνεται, πέντε ἢ καὶ ἕξ χιλιάσιν εἰκαζομένη. Καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ Ῥουσέλιος ἐξήρτυε τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀνέστελλον δὲ τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ ὃ τε καῖσαρ καὶ τινες τῶν ἐξοχωτέρων, ὡς ἂν διαγνοίεν πρότερον τὴν πληθὺν ὀπόση τις εἴη τῶν ἐπιφανέντων. Μὴ ἐνεγκῶν δέ, ἀλλ' ἀδοξίαν ἄκραν ἠγούμενος εἰ πρὸς ἕξ ἢ δέκα χιλιάδας ἀμφιγνωμονεῖ ὁ Ῥουσέλιος, σὺν πολλῇ ῥύμῃ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπῆλθε μετὰ τῶν Φράγκων. Ἔπεσον οὖν τῶν Τούρκων πολλοί, μηδενὸς τῶν Φράγκων κενὸν τὸ δόρυ ἐσχηκότος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. Τῆς διώξεως δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ γενομένης παρὰ τὸ εἰθισμένον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα δι' ὀρέων ἀβάτων καὶ δυσδιεξιτήτων, ἔλαθε τοὺς πλείστους τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἀπολιπὼν ὀπίσω, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ βραχέων τινῶν ἀπολειφθεὶς καὶ τοῦ καίσαρος ἐν ἵπποις κεκμηκόσι τῷ συνεχεῖ τῆς διώξεως καὶ ἐπιτεταμένῳ. Οὕτω δὲ ἔχοντι ἀνεφάνη πλήθος ἕτερον Τούρκων ἄπειρον, εἰς ἑκατὸν χιλιάδας ποσοῦσθαι στοχαζόμενον. Περιστοιχηθεὶς οὖν πανταχόθεν, καὶ ἄκων αὐτοῖς προσήγγυνται μετ' ὀλίγων πάνυ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. Ἀντέσχον μὲν οὖν οἱ Τούρκοι, ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τότε πολλοί. Ὅμως κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῖσούτου πλήθους ἐκηβόλοις τε βέλεσιν ἀποβαλόντες τοὺς ἵππους καὶ πεζοὶ ὑπολειφθέντες σύμπαντες οὐδ' οὕτως ἐνέδωκαν. Πίπτουσι δ' ὅμως πολλοὶ καὶ Τούρκοι δὲ δεκάκις τοσοῦτοι. Ἀλίσκεται δὲ ὃ τε καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ῥουσέλιος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. Οἱ δ' ὑπολειφθέντες τῶν Φράγκων εἰς τὸ τῆς Μεταβολῆς φρούριον συμφυγόντες μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Ῥουσελίου γυναικὸς δι' ἐπιμελείας ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τούτου φυλακὴν καὶ συντήρησιν.

Οἱ δὲ Τούρκοι τὸν μὲν Ῥουσέλιον ποδοκάκη ἀσφαλισάμενοι, τὸν καίσαρα ἄνετον εἶχον καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἦγον τιμῇ. Τοῦ δὲ τιμήματος τῶν ἐάλωκῶτων ἐπιζητουμένου ἔσπευδε μὲν ὠνήσασθαι τούτους ὁ βασιλεὺς· ἐπικατέλαβε γὰρ καὶ ὁ Μαλέσης, ἄρτι ἀπολυθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ καίσαρος, καὶ αὐτίκα εἰς ὑπερορίαν στέλλεται καὶ δημεύσει καθυποβάλλεται, αἰχμαλωσίας αἰχμαλωσίαν, τῆς σὺν τῷ Διογένει τὴν τοῦ Ῥουσελίου, καὶ δήμευσιν καὶ ἐξορίαν τούτων ἀνταλλαξάμενος. Ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ Ῥουσελίου γυνὴ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἄνδρα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐλυτρώσατο. Ὅθεν οἱ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως σταλέντες τὸν καίσαρα μόνον λυτρώσάμενοι ἀνθυπέστρεψαν. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Προποντίδι γενόμενος, εὐλαβηθεὶς μὴ πως ὡς ὑποπτος καὶ ἀποστάτης νομισθεὶς πάθῃ τι φλαῦρον καὶ ἀνήκεστον, τὴν κοσμικὴν ἀποβαλλόμενος ἐσθῆτα τὴν τρίχα κείρεται καὶ τὰ μοναχῶν ἀμφιέννυται, καὶ οὕτως ἐν εὐτελεῖ τῷ σχήματι τοῖς βασιλείοις παρέβαλεν.

188 On these events, see Bryennios, *Histoire*, 176–188.

189 Metabole has been identified with a fortress on a hilltop near Mount Sophonas, about 30 km northeast of Nicaea. On these places and the physical setting of this episode which took place in 1074, see Foss, "Byzantine Malagina," 166–172.

190 Basil Maleses had gone into captivity with Romanos IV Diogenes after the defeat at Mantzikert. According to his friend Attaleiates, Michael VII exiled him and seized his property (his children were also dispossessed). Upon being released by the Turks he entered service with the *kaisar* John. Taken captive along with the *kaisar* by Rouselios, Maleses was released and returned to Constantinople where he advised Michael to ransom Rouselios and the *kaisar* before the Turks could proclaim the latter emperor. His

strong, appeared around Mount Sophonas. Rouselios immediately prepared to give battle. When the *kaisar* and some of the notables tried to hold back his attack so that they could first take a good look at the multitude and determine just how many of them hove into view, Rouselios would have none of it, considering it the height of disgrace if he were to think twice about going up against six or ten thousand, and went at the enemy pell-mell with his Franks. Many of the Turks went down—not a single one of the Franks had a clean spear—and the rest turned and ran. The pursuit went on for quite some time, which was unusual for the Franks, and as it wound through impassable mountains, hard to traverse, Rouselios did not realise that he was leaving most of his men behind. He was left with just a few men and the *kaisar*, on horses worn out by the continuous and extended pursuit. While he was in this parlous state, another limitless horde of Turks loomed before him, estimated to number as many as one hundred thousand. Surrounded on all sides, he somewhat reluctantly hurled himself at them along with his puny retinue. The Turks held firm, although many kept falling. The Franks were encircled | by a huge multitude and after losing their horses to arrows launched from long range were left on foot, yet even so they did not yield. Many of the Franks fell, and ten times as many Turks. The *kaisar* and Rouselios and his retinue were captured.¹⁸⁸ The surviving Franks fled to the fortress of Metabole with Rouselios' wife, and devoted careful attention to the defences and maintenance of the place.¹⁸⁹

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8. The Turks secured Rouselios with chains on his feet, whereas they allowed the *kaisar* freedom of movement and escorted him about with the honour due his station. Once a ransom was sought, the emperor made haste to buy them back. Maleses, recently released by the *kaisar*, came back first and was immediately sent into exile and subjected to the confiscation of his property. He exchanged one captivity for another, the one with Diogenes for the one under Rouselios, and then exchanged those for banishment and confiscation.¹⁹⁰ But Rouselios' wife was very quick to ransom her husband, so that the men sent by the emperor had to make the return journey after ransoming the *kaisar* only. When he reached the Propontis, he was worried that he might somehow be deemed suspect and a rebel and suffer some awful or cruel fate. He cast off the vestments of this world, sheared his hair, put on monastic garb, and entered the palace in this humble attire.

reward for this wise counsel was a second exile and confiscation of property. It is an odd train of events which has been scrutinised by Krallis, *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 237–243. He points out the discrepancies while noting the story's real significance as an example of the opportunism, shifting loyalties and favour, careerism, and fluidity of relationships that belies the rather wooden views of political camps and civil versus military aristocracies that for too long shaped interpretations of the eleventh century.

Ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων οἱ εὖ φρονούντες τὴν θεομηνίαν συνελογίζοντο, καὶ ὅπως αὐτοῖς τὸ θεῖον ἐκπεπολέμηται διὰ τὴν τῶν θείων ἐντολῶν καὶ ἐνταλμάτων παρόρασιν καὶ ἀθέτησιν, ἃς καίπερ ἑαυτοῖς συνεπιστάμενοι εἰς πολέμους μεγάλους καὶ κινδύνους, μὴ πρότερον τὸν Θεὸν ἰλεωσάμενοι, τὰς ῥωμαϊκὰς δυνάμεις εἰσάγουσι, καὶ πάσχοντες κακῶς καὶ ἡττώμενοι ἀφειδῶς αἰσθήσιν οὐ λαμβάνουσι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ νεμέσεως. Οἱ δὲ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι οὐχ οὕτω ποιοῦντες τὰς φοβεράς ἐκείνας καὶ ἀδομένας στρατηγίας κατῴρθουν, ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀγάπης καὶ ἀληθείας ἀντιποιοῦμενοι καὶ ἀπλῶς πᾶν καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ὡς δυνατόν, μετερχόμενοι· διὸ καὶ τὸ θεῖον συμπαρῆν αὐτοῖς, καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ τοὺς ἐναντίους κατηγωνίζοντο.

Εἰσελθόντος δὲ τοῦ καίσαρος ἔδοξε μὲν ὁ κρατῶν ἡνυκέναι τὸ πᾶν, ἡνιάτω δὲ τῇ τοῦ Ῥουσελίου ἀστοχίᾳ· τὴν γὰρ τῶν ὁμογενῶν ἀπώλειαν καὶ τὴν ὑφαίρεσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ σφάττεσθαι τοὺς χριστιανούς καὶ δηοῦσθαι τὰς κώμας καὶ τὰς χώρας ἀφανίζεσθαι καὶ ἀναστατοῦσθαι ἐν δευτέρῳ ἐτίθετο. Ὁ δὲ γε Ῥουσέλιος ἄρας ἐκ τοῦ τῆς Μεταβολῆς φρουρίου μετὰ τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων Φράγκων στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῆς συνεύνου καὶ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ διὰ μέσης τῆς χώρας ἀτρέστως ἐβάδιζε, καὶ τὸ θέμα τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν καταλαβὼν τοῖς προτέροις αὐτοῦ κάστροις ἀποκατέστη, κάκειθεν ἐκδρομὰς κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ποιοῦμενος ἀπεῖρξεν αὐτοὺς τῶν κατὰ τοῦ τοιούτου θέματος ἐφόδων. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐνωτιζόμενος ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἐνόμιζε συμφέρον τοὺς Τούρκους ἔχειν τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἢ τὸν Ῥουσέλιον χωρεῖσθαι ἐν τόπῳ ἐνί, παρὰ τοῦ Νικηφόρου πρὸς τοῦτο νυττόμενος καὶ διεγειρόμενος.

Στέλλει τοίνυν τινὰ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, τὴν μὲν ἡλικίαν νέον, δραστήριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐχέφρονα, τὸν πρόεδρον Ἀλέξιον τὸν Κομνηνόν, ὃς ἐν τῷ ᾧσται τῆς Ἀμασείας γενόμενος ἐκαρὰδόκει τὸ μέλλον. Ὁ δὲ Ῥουσέλιος συνθήκας καὶ φιλίας μετὰ τοῦ τῶν Τούρκων ἐξάρχοντος θέμενος συνῆλθε τοῦτοις ἐψιλωμένος στρατιωτῶν ὡς ἤδη συνήθης καὶ ἐθάς. Ἐν μῇ δὲ συνδειπνῶν αὐτοῖς ἀλίσκεται καὶ δεσμώτης ἀποδείκνυται· ἀπατᾶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίους ἐνωμότως παρὰ τοῖς Τούρκοις καὶ λόγος ἐνδόσιμος καὶ ἀλογόθετος. Τοῦτον χρημάτων πολλῶν ὁ πρόεδρος Ἀλέξιος ὠνησάμενος εἰς βασιλέα ἀπάγει δέσμιον. Παραδοὺς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς βασιανισταῖς ξεσμοῖς ἀνηκέστοις διὰ βουλεύρων ὡς τινα δοῦλον δραπετὴν ἡκίστατο, καὶ εἰς ἓνα τῶν ζοφωδεσμάτων ἐγκλείσας πύργων ἀτημέλητον εἶχεν ἀλύσει δέσμιον.

Ὁ δὲ λογοθέτης μέγала δυνάμενος, ὡς εἴρηται, παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἄγων τε καὶ φέρων τὰ πάντα οὐπερ ἐβούλετο, τὴν τοῦ Ἐβδόμου μονὴν διὰ δωρεᾶς ἐξαίτησάμενος

191 This episode marks the arrival of the future emperor Alexios I Komnenos on the political scene. His success in negotiating with the Turkmen chieftain Artouch and delivering Rouselios to the emperor is played up by Bryennios, *Histoire*, 182–196, and by Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 1.1.3–3.4; (Sewter-Frankopan, 9–15).

9. From all these events, sensible persons drew the conclusion that it was the wrath of God at work, and that the Divinity was at war with these people because they ignored and rejected the holy commandments and injunctions. Even though they were well aware of these, they led the Roman armies into great wars and dangers without having first propitiated God, and when they suffered terribly and went down to utter defeat they failed to realise that it was divine retribution. It was because they had not acted like this that the Romans of old achieved their awe-inspiring and celebrated feats of generalship. They strove after virtue | and justice and love and truth—to put it simply, they pursued all that was good and right, as far as they could. Therefore the Divinity attended them and they triumphed over their enemies in every way.

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10. Now that the *kaisar* had returned to the fold, the emperor believed that he had settled all that there was to settle, but he was troubled that he had missed his chance at Rouselios. The destruction of his people, the contraction of the empire, the slaughter of Christians, the ransacking of villages, and the despoliation and devastation of whole regions he regarded as a matter of secondary concern. For his part Rouselios set off from the fortress of Metabole with the Frankish soldiers left to him, his wife and children, and his possessions. He freely made his way right through the country, and upon reaching the theme of the Anatolikon he reclaimed his former strongholds, from which he undertook expeditions against the Turks and put a halt to their incursions into this particular theme. When the emperor heard about this, he deemed it more in his interest for the Turks to have the land of the Romans than for Rouselios to be ensconced in one place, although it was Nikephoros who prodded and incited him to this conclusion.

11. He therefore despatched a member of the nobility, a young man, energetic yet prudent, the *proedros* Alexios Komnenos, who after reaching the city of Amaseia awaited developments. Rouselios had made a pact of friendship with the leader of the Turks and was by now accustomed to and in the habit of visiting them unattended by his own soldiers. On one occasion when he was dining with them he was taken captive and put in chains. For it is the practice among the Turks to deceive the Romans with sworn oaths, and a promise easily given is a promise easily broken. The *proedros* Alexios paid a great sum of money for him and delivered him to the emperor in chains.¹⁹¹ The emperor gave him over to the torturers and inflicted cruel wounds on him by having him flogged as though he were a runaway slave. Then he shut him up in one of the darkest towers where he kept him bound in chains and denied him proper care.

12. The *logothetes*, as we have said, exerted a very powerful influence over the emperor, conducting and directing all affairs according to his own desires. After asking for the Hebdomon monastery as a gift, he set about endowing it

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πάντα τὰ κτήματα καὶ πάσαν σχεδὸν ὅσπιν ὁ ἥλιος ἐφορᾷ ἔσπευδε προσκυρῶσαι αὐτῇ καὶ προσόδοις ἀφθόνοις ἐμπλατύνει, σκεπτόμενος ἐκ μοχθηρίας οἰκειοῦσθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ παρακερδαίνειν τὰ μέγιστα τῆς ἀβελτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς μονῆς πλοῦτον ἐπικτᾶσθαι ὑπερφυῇ. Ποριμώτατος δὲ ὢν εἰς κακίαν, εἶπερ τις ἕτερος, καὶ τοῦ κερδαλέου χάριν μηδενὸς δυσφήμου ὀνόματος ἀπεχόμενος φούνδακα ἐν τῇ Ῥαιδεστῷ καὶ μονοπώλιον συνεστήσατο, κωλύσας καὶ ἀπείρξας τοὺς πωλοῦντας ἅπαντας, τὸ βασιλικὸν δὲ μόνον πρατήριον ἐμμηχανήσατο, παρ' ὃ καὶ λιμὸν ἐπραγματεύσατο μέγιστον καὶ τῶν πώποτε μνημονευομένων ἀπανθρωπότατον, ὥς καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀντ' ἐπωνυμίας γενέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρῷου ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ προγονικοῦ γινώσκεσθαι τοῖς μετέπειτα. Τὸν γὰρ Μιχαὴλ εἰπὼν τις, εἰ μὴ προσθείη καὶ τὸν Παραπινάκιον, οὐκ ἂν θεῖτο συντόμως γνῶριμον τὸν δηλούμενον, διὰ τὸ τηνικαῦτα τὸν μόδιον παρὰ πινάκιον πιπράσκεισθαι τοῦ νομίσματος.

Τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ἰνδικτιῶνος ια', τὸ τῶν Σέρβων ἔθνος, οὗς δὴ καὶ Χροβάτους καλοῦσι, τὴν Βουλγαρίαν ἐξῆλθε καταδουλωσόμενον. Τὸν δὲ τρόπον ἄνωθεν ἀναλαβὼν διηγήσομαι. Βασιλείου γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁπηνίκα τὴν Βουλγαρίαν ὑπηγάγετο, μὴ θελήσαντός τι νεοχμῶσαι τῶν ἐθίμων αὐτοῦς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῖς σφετέροις ἄρχουσιν τε καὶ ἔθεσι τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ὀρίσαντος διεξάγεσθαι, καθὼς πού καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σαμουήλ, ὃς αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ἐγένετο, ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον τὸ ἔθνος τετάρα-
163 κτο τὴν ἀπληστίαν μὴ φέρον τοῦ ὀρφανοτρόφου, ὅτε τὸν Δελεά|νον ἑαυτῶν βασιλέα ἐπευφήμησαν, περὶ ᾧ κατὰ μέρος δεδήλωται ἄνωθεν, ἀπέβλεψε δὲ καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἀποστασίαν. Τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Νικηφόρου μὴ φέρον ἀπληστίαν καὶ ἃ κατὰ πάντων αὐτῷ μεμηχάνηται, οὐδενὸς ἐπιστρεφόμενου τοῦ βασιλέως, ταῖς παιδαριώδεσι δὲ παιδιαῖς

192 The *phoundax*, a state-controlled clearing house, is sharply criticised by Attaleiates, *History*, 25.4–6. The port of Raidestos was a logical location since it served as the distribution centre for the grain grown in Thrace. The *phoundax* worked by restricting the purchase of grain from local dealers to a select group of merchants (likely Amalfitans or Venetians) who could buy low and sell high (thus hurting producers and consumers alike, in Attaleiates' view). It also allowed the state to collect the applicable tolls, dues, and taxes more efficiently. See Magdalino, *Byzantine Background*, 26–27, and “Grain supply,” (explaining the circuitous journey of the word itself from the original Greek *pandocheion*, through the Arabic *funduq*, the Italian *fondaco* and Latin *fundicus*, and back into Greek as *phoundax*).

193 True enough, as more than seventy years later Zonaras (xviii.16.35) would note that “even down to the present time the emperor is called by that name.”

194 “Parapinakes” comes from the Greek παρὰ πινάκιον, “less a quarter,” since the standard gold coin, the nomisma, purchased a modios of grain less this amount. Michael “Short a Quarter” would be an English approximation.

195 In 1073.

with all possessions and pretty much all the land under the sun, and expanding it with abundant revenues, scheming in his evil way to win the emperor's favour and take full advantage of his stupidity and pile up enormous wealth in the name of the monastery. If ever there was a past master at evil deeds, it was Nikephoritzes. He stopped at no slander for sake of profit. He set up a grain exchange and a monopoly in Raideustos after hindering and restricting all sellers and contriving it so that the imperial market was the only one left, by which he managed to bring about the greatest and most cruel famine that anyone could recall.¹⁹² As a result, in place of his proper name, the emperor received another one, by which he came to be known to later generations rather than by his family or ancestral name.¹⁹³ If anyone said 'Michael' and did not add "Parapinakes," he would not thereby make it clear right away who was meant, since at that time one gold coin purchased a measure of grain less a quarter.¹⁹⁴

13. In the third year of his reign, in the eleventh indiction,¹⁹⁵ the nation of the Serbs, whom they also call Croats, ventured forth to subject Bulgaria. How they set about doing so I will explain with reference to the narrative above.¹⁹⁶ At the time when the emperor Basil was subjugating Bulgaria, he did not wish to replace their old ways with new ones, but decided that they should be governed by their own leaders in accordance with their own customs, just as they had been during the reign of Samuel,¹⁹⁷ who had been their ruler¹⁹⁸ (...) this nation had already been in turmoil on a previous occasion when it could no longer bear the rapacity of the Orphanotrophos and they proclaimed Deleanos | their emperor, a series of events explained in detail above,¹⁹⁹ and now they were contemplating rebellion once more. Unable to tolerate Nikephoros' rapacity and his machinations against everyone while the emperor, occupied solely with his

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196 ἄνωθεν ἀναλαβῶν διηγήσομαι: a phrase used in the *Synopsis*, 442.87 (Wortley, 416). The narrative to which Skylitzes refers is the uprising of Peter Deljan in 1040–1041, described at length in the *Synopsis*, 409.87–414.47 (Wortley, 384–389).

197 A reference to Basil II (976–1025), the "Slayer of the Bulgars," and the Bulgarian tzar Samuel (997–1014); the wars between them take up much of the section of the *Synopsis* dealing with the reign of Basil II.

198 Comparison with the parallel passage in the *Synopsis*, 412.67–73 (Wortley, 387), suggests that there is a lacuna in the text here. The *Synopsis* explains that Samuel had taxed his subjects in kind, a policy left in place by Basil II following his subjugation of Bulgaria in 1018, whereas John the Orphanotrophos (the *éminence grise* during the reign of Michael the Paphlagonian, 1034–1041) imposed a tax in gold coin which provoked the rebellion of Peter Deljan (Deleanos in the Greek form here).

199 κατὰ μέρος δεδῆλωται ἄνωθεν: this and two similar phrases have parallels in the *Synopsis*, 128.34–35 (Wortley, 128) and 130.89–90 (Wortley, 129). The phrase here refers to the account of Deljan's rebellion in the *Synopsis*, noted above (n. 182).

μόνον προσανέχοντος, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Βουλγαρίαν προέχοντες ἀξιούσι τὸν Μιχαηλᾶν, ἀρχηγὸν ὄντα τῆνικαῦτα τῶν εἰρημένων Χροβάτων τὴν οἰκισίην τε ἐν Δεκατέροις καὶ Πραπράτοις ποιούμενον καὶ χώραν οὐκ ὀλίγην ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχοντα, ἐπαρῆξαι αὐτοῖς καὶ συνεργῆσαι δοῦναι τε αὐτοῖς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸν βασιλέα Βουλγαρίας ἀνακηρύξωσι καὶ τῆς ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερωθεῖεν καταδυναστείας καὶ βαρύτητος. Ὁ δὲ ἀσμένως ὑπακούει αὐτῶν, τριακοσίους τε τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπολεξάμενος καὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ, τῷ καὶ Βοδίνῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ, παραδοὺς εἰς Βουλγαρίαν ἐξαποστέλλει. Ἐξείσι γοῦν εἰς τὰ Πρισδρίανα, ἔνθα καὶ συναθροισθέντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς Σκοπίοις προέχοντες, ὧν ἔξαρχος ἦν Γεώργιος ὁ Βοϊτάχης, τοῦ τῶν Κοπχάνων γένους καταγόμενος, βασιλέα Βουλγάρων αὐτὸν ἀνεκήρυξαν, Πέτρον ἀντὶ Κωνσταντίνου μετονομάσαντες.

Ὅπερ ἀκούσας ὁ ἐν Σκοπίοις διέπων τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δουκὸς Νικηφόρος ὁ Καραντηνός, τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατηγούς παραλαβὼν ἄπεισιν εἰς τὰ Πρισδρίανα μετὰ τῶν βουλγαρικῶν δυνάμεων. Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ οὗτος τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξήρτυεν, ἐπικατέλαβε διάδοχος αὐτοῦ Δαμιανὸς ὁ Δαλασσηνός. Ἐνωθεὶς τοίνυν μετὰ τοῦ Καραντηνοῦ πολλὰ τε κερτομήσας αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγῶν ἐμπαροινήσας οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ ὡς ἀνάνδρους μυκτηρίσας αὐτούς, συνταξάμενος συμβάλλει τοῖς Σέρβοις εὐθέως. Καὶ γίνεται μάχη φρικτὴ καὶ τροπὴ τῶν Ῥωμαίων φρικτωδεστέρα. Πίπτουσι γὰρ πολλοὶ ἐκ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βουλγάρων, ζωγροῦνται δὲ πλεῖστοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δοῦξ Δαμιανὸς ὁ Δαλασσηνός ὃ τε λεγόμενος Προβατᾶς καὶ ὁ Λογγιβαρδόπουλος καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς. Ἐλήφθη δὲ καὶ ἡ παρεμβολὴ ἅπασα καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πάντων διασκύλευσις γίνεται.

164 Ἐντεῦθεν ἀνέδην οἱ Βούλγαροι τὸν Βοδῖνον | βασιλέα ἀναγορεύουσιν, ὡς εἴρηται, Πέτρον μετονομάσαντες διχῇ τε διαιρεθέντες, οἱ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ Βοδίνου εἰς τὸν Νίσον ἀπῆγσαν, οἱ δὲ Πετρίλον τινά, τὰ πρῶτα παρὰ τῷ Βοδίνῳ φέροντα, παραλαβόντες

200 Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, 98–100, points out that Nikephoritzes had halted the subsidies and gifts distributed to the local magnates and the Patzinaks dwelling along the Danube frontier; he may have intended to replace these subsidies with trading privileges in imperial grain depots (like the aforementioned *phoundax*) designed to maximise their profits and secure tax revenues for the state.

201 In a region called Duklja, or more commonly Zeta, corresponding with today's Montenegro. Michaelas reigned from about the year 1046 to 1081. Dekatera is today Kotor.

202 The participants and events in this uprising, dated to 1072–1073, are reviewed by Fine, *Early Medieval Balkans*, 213–215; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 79 (no. 98), 387–389; and Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, 138–144. It follows the pattern of rebellions provoked by unpopular financial policies, and was led by local potentates hoping to carve out an autonomous principality under the banner of a native Bulgarian ruler. Hence the renaming of Constantine to Peter, a royal name appealing to Bulgarian national sentiment. As Fine points out, however, Michaelas was also trying to gravitate away from Byzantium

childish pastimes, paid no attention,²⁰⁰ the magnates throughout Bulgaria petitioned Michaelas, who was at that time the ruler of the aforementioned Croats, making his residence in Dekatera and Praprata and holding extensive territory under his sway,²⁰¹ to assist and collaborate with them, and to send his son to them, so that they could proclaim him emperor of Bulgaria and free themselves from Roman control and oppression.²⁰² He willingly acceded to their request. After selecting three hundred of his men and placing them under the authority of his son Constantine, named Vodinos, he sent them to Bulgaria. And so Constantine left for Prisdriana,²⁰³ where the magnates of Skopje had assembled and whose overlord was George Voitachos, who traced his descent from the *Kopchanoi*.²⁰⁴ They proclaimed Constantine emperor of the Bulgarians and changed his name to Peter.

14. Upon hearing of this, the man holding the office of *doux* in Skopje, Nikephoros Karantenos, summoned the *strategoi* under his command to his side and departed for Prisdriana with his Bulgarian forces. In the midst of his preparations for a military campaign, his successor Damianos Dalassenos arrived.²⁰⁵ After joining forces with Karantenos, however, he proceeded to heap insults on him and ranted at length at each one of the *strategoi* with him, taunting them as cowards. After marshalling his forces, he fell upon the Serbs at once. A dreadful battle took place and an even more dreadful rout of the Romans.²⁰⁶ There were heavy losses among the Romans and Bulgarians and a great many were taken alive, including the *doux* Damianos Dalassenos himself, a man named Probatas and another named Longibardopoulos, and quite a few more besides. The entire encampment was captured and everything inside it was ransacked.

15. Thereupon the Bulgarians openly proclaimed Vodinos | emperor after 164
renaming him Peter, as noted above, and after dividing into two groups, some set off with Vodinos towards Niš, while the rest followed a certain Petrilos, a man of high standing in Vodinos' circle, and moved against the Romans who

towards the Papacy in an attempt to gain support from that quarter against the common foe, Robert Guiscard, who from his domains in southern Italy now threatened the lands across the Adriatic.

203 Today Prizren, in southern Serbia.

204 Georgi Vojteh. According to Gyula Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 11, 186, *Kopchanoi* is the Greek form of the Bulgarian *kavkhan*, a term used during the First Bulgarian Empire (681–1018) to refer to the man second to the ruler (*khan* or *tzar*), the rank to which Vojteh's descent entitled him in the rebellion.

205 Dalassenos replaced Nikephoros Karantenos in this post in 1073.

206 *καὶ τροπή ... φρικωδέστερα*: the same or similar wording is used of Byzantine defeats in the *Synopsis*, 203.12 (Wortley, 198), 381.23 (Wortley, 360), 475.32–33 (Wortley, 443).

κατὰ τῶν ἐν Καστορίᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἀπίασιν· ἐκείσε γὰρ διὰ τὸ τετειχίσθαι τὴν πόλιν οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονούντες ἡθροίζοντο. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πετρίλος τῇ Ἀχρίδι παραβαλὼν καὶ ταύτην ἐξ ἐφόδου ἑλὼν—οὐπω γὰρ τετειχιστο, ἀλλ' ἐρείπιον ἔκειτο ἐξ ὅτου Βασίλειος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατηρέϊψε ταύτην, μέγα κέντρον ὑπειδόμενος πρὸς ἀποστασίαν τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ τῶν Βουλγάρων βασιλεία—ἔνθα καὶ ὑποδεχθεὶς φιλοτίμως τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τε κύριον ἀναγορεῦσαι παρεσκεύασε τοὺς ἐγγχωρίους κὰν τῇ Διαβόλει δὲ ταὐτὸ πεποιηκῶς ἐπὶ Καστορίαν ἀπήει σὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ· ἐκείσε γὰρ ἡθροίζοντο οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονούντες, ὡς εἴρηται, ὃ τε Ἀχρίδος στρατηγὸς Μαριανὸς καὶ ὁ τῆς Διαβόλεως, ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ ἀνθύπατος Θεόγνωστος ὁ Βούρτζης, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐν Καστορίᾳ στρατηγῶν, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Βορίσης Δαβίδ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί, οἵτινες δεδιότες τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἰθαγενῶν Βουλγάρων ἀπειλὴν ὡς εἰς κρησφύγετον τὴν Καστορίαν συνέφυγον.

Καταλαβὼν οὖν ὁ Πετρίλος τὴν Καστορίαν μετὰ πλήθους στρατιωτῶν Βουλγάρων ἀμυθήτου τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον συνεσκευάζετο. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ συνταξάμενοι ἐξήλθον κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ μετὰ ῥύμης σφοδρὰς συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖς τρέπουσι τὸν Πετρίλον καὶ φυγεῖν καταναγκάζουσι, δι' ὁρέων ἀβάτων πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κύριον τὸν Μιχαήλ ἀφικόμενον. Κτείνουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν Βουλγάρων πολλοὺς, αἰροῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸν μετὰ τὸν Πετρίλον ἐν Χροβάτοις τεταγμένον καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δεσμώτην ἀπάγουσιν. Ὁ δὲ Βοδίνος τὸν Νίσον καταλαβὼν ὡς ἤδη βασιλεὺς τῶν βουλγαρικῶν πραγμάτων ἀντείχετο, πᾶν τὸ προστυχὸν ληιζόμενος καὶ τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους μηδὲ δουλουμένους αὐτῷ κεραΐζων καὶ λυμαινόμενος. "Ὅπερ ἀκηκῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὴν τε
 165 τοῦ δουκὸς ἦτταν δηλαδὴ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναγόμενους, τὸν Σαρωνίτην κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξάπέστειλε, πρὶν ἐξαφθῇ τὸ κακὸν καὶ εἰς μεγάλην ἐξαρθῇ φλόγα κατασβέσαι τοῦτο κατεπειγόμενος. Συνεξαπέστειλε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ στράτευμα ἀξιόλογον, συγκείμενον ἔκ τε Μακεδόνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Φράγκων. Ἄλλ' οὗτος μὲν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σκοπίων πόλιν τὴν ὁρμὴν ποιούμενος τῶν ἐν τῷ Νίσῳ οὐδεμίαν φροντίδα ἐτίθετο.

Παραγενόμενος οὖν καὶ τῷ πεπιστευμένῳ ταύτην Γεωργίῳ τῷ Βοϊτάχῳ λόγον δεδωκὼς ὡς οὐδὲν φλαῦρον ὑποστήσεται, τὴν πόλιν τῶν Σκοπίων αἰρεῖ κὰν ταύτη τὴν στρατοπεδεῖαν πῆγνυσι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Νίσῳ τὸ ποιητέον ἐσκόπει καὶ ἐμελέτα. Ἄλλ' ὁ Βοϊτάχος μεταμεληθεὶς ὅτι δὴ ποσὼς ἀγαθὸς γέγονε καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐφρόνησε, λαθραίως τοῖς ἐν τῷ Νίσῳ ἐδήλου ἀφικέσθαι μὲν ἐν τάχει πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαρωνίτην ῥαθυμότερον διάγοντας καὶ ἀμελέστερον ἀνοίκτως καὶ ὠμῶς ἡβηδὸν ἀποσφάξαι. Οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀγγελίαν δεξάμενοι, ἄραντες ἐκ τοῦ Νίσου πρὸς τὰ Σκόπια ἴεντο, χιόνι κεκαλυμμένης οὐσῆς τῆς γῆς· χειμῶν γὰρ ἦν Δεκεμβρίου

were in Kastoria. That was where the people who supported the Romans had gathered since the city was enclosed by a wall. Upon reaching Ohrid, Petrilos took the city by storm—for it was not fortified at all but had been lying in ruins ever since the emperor Basil razed it to the ground, since he suspected that the royal seat of the Bulgarians would be a powerful incentive to rebellion—and after being welcomed with open arms there Petrilos prepared the inhabitants to acclaim his lord. He did the same thing in Diabolis²⁰⁷ and set off in all haste for Kastoria. The supporters of the Romans were gathered there, as stated above, as was Marianos, the *strategos* of Ohrid, and the *strategos* of Devol, the *patrikios* and *anthypatos* Theognostos Bourtzes. The *strategos* of Kastoria was with them, along with Boris David and many others who in fear of the threat from the indigenous Bulgarians had fled to Kastoria as a place of refuge.

16. When Petrilos reached Kastoria with an untold multitude of Bulgarian soldiers he made ready for battle. The Romans moved out against them in battle formation, and falling upon them with an overwhelming charge they routed Petrilos and forced him to flee through trackless mountains until he came to his lord Michaelas. They killed many of the Bulgarians, captured the man ranked second after Petrilos among the Croats, and brought him as a prisoner to the emperor. Vodinos, who had arrived at Niš, was handling matters in Bulgaria as though he were already emperor, laying waste to everything in his path and slaughtering and tormenting those who did not accept or submit to him. When the emperor received word of this, namely, the defeat of the *doux* Damianos Dalassenos and Vodinos' acclamation, | he sent Saronites²⁰⁸ against him, as he was eager to stamp this out before the trouble caught fire and grew into a major conflagration. Along with Saronites the emperor sent a battleworthy army composed of Macedonians, Romans, and Franks. But this commander directed his advance to the city of Skopje and gave no thought to the forces at Niš.

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17. Upon arrival Saronites gave his word to George Voitachos, to whom the city had been entrusted, that he would come to no harm, and so took the city of Skopje and pitched his camp there as he planned and pondered what to do with regard to the forces at Niš. But Voitachos had come to doubt the wisdom of giving his support to the Romans. He secretly sent word to the people at Niš that they should hurry to him and, since Saronites' men went about carelessly and unguardedly, they should without pity or mercy put all to the sword over a certain age. When they received the message, they set off from Niš and headed for Skopje, even though the ground was covered in snow. For

207 Also known by the Slavic form Devol.

208 Michael Saronites; known from seals to have been *magistros* and *doux* of all the West (see Figure 19).

166 ἐνισταμένου μηνός. Συναισθήσεως δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σαρωνίτην γενομένης ἔξεισιν ἐκεῖ-
 νος κατ' αὐτῶν παμπληθεῖ, καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ λεγο-
 μένῳ Ταωνίῳ, ἀναιρεῖ σχεδὸν τι σύμπαντας· ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Βοδῖνος, τοῦ Βαλανέως
 μάλιστα πάντων κατὰ χεῖρα καὶ θάρσος διενεγκόντος. Ὁ δὲ Λογγιβαρδόπουλος, ὡς
 εἴρηται, ἀχθεῖς πρὸς τὸν Μιχαηλᾶν καὶ λόγους δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν ζεύγνυται τῇ τού-
 του θυγατρὶ καὶ λαὸν ὃ τι πλείστον πιστεύεται ἀπὸ Λογγιβάρδων καὶ Σέρβων συγ-
 κείμενον, μεθ' οὗ καὶ πρὸς βοήθειαν τοῦ Βοδίνου ἀποσταλεῖς αὖθις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
 ἀποκαθίσταται. Ὁ δὲ Σαρωνίτης τὸν Βοδῖνον ἐξαπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δέσμιον.
 Περιορισθεὶς δὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου μονῇ, μετὰ βραχὺ παραδοθεὶς τῷ Κομνηνῷ
 Ἰσαακίῳ, ἥδη προβεβλημένῳ Ἀντιοχείας δουκί, ἀπήχθη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. Ὅπερ ἀκού-
 σας Μιχαηλᾶς ὁ τοῦτου πατήρ, μισθωσάμενος Βενετικούς τινας βαλαντίου ἀδροῦ, οἷς
 ἔργον θαλαττοπορεῖν, ἀπέκλειψε τοῦτον ἐκείθεν καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀρχῇ ἀποκατέστησεν· ὃς
 καὶ μετὰ θάνατον τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν κἀν τοῖς ἡμετέροις χρόνοις διήνυσεν. Ὁ δὲ
 Βοϊτάχος ἔτασθεις σφοδρῶς ἐν τῷ ἀπάγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τελευτᾷ, μὴ ἑξαρκέ-
 σας ταῖς ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν ὀδύναις.

Οἷγε μὲν Ἀλαμάνοι καὶ Βάραγγοι, γένη δὲ οὗτοι δυτικά, κατὰ τῆς χώρας ἀφθεντές
 καθαιροῦσι μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ Πρέσπᾳ τῶν Βουλγάρων ὑπολελειμμένα βασίλεια, σκυλεύ-
 ουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖσε ναόν, ὃς ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀχιλλεῖου ἱδρύται, μηδενὸς τῶν



FIGURE 19 Seal of Michael Saronites, *magistros* and *doux* of all the West (ca. 1075). This is in all likelihood the same Saronites who put down the rebellion of Constantine Vodinos in 1072. Although his Christian name and his title and rank are not given in Skylitzes' account, he is attested on another seal as *vestarches* and *katepano* of Bulgaria. The title and high rank recorded on this seal would indicate that he was amply rewarded for his performance in 1072.

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it was winter, at the beginning of December. When Saronites' men got wind of this, he set out against them in full strength, and upon intercepting them on the march at a place called Taonion he killed nearly every last one of them. Vodinos was captured, while Balaneus stood out most of all for his courage in fighting at close quarters. Longibardopoulos, as said, was brought to Michaelas, and after giving and receiving pledges was married to his daughter and given command of a very large host made up of Longibards and Serbs. With this host he was sent to give aid to Vodinos but once again defected to the Romans. Saronites despatched Vodinos to the emperor in chains. He was confined in the monastery of St Sergios. After a short time he was handed over to Isaac Komnenos, who had by then been promoted to *doux* of Antioch, and was taken away to Antioch. When his father Michaelas heard of this, he spirited him away from there by paying a tidy sum to a band of Venetian seafarers | and had 166 him brought back to his own realm.²⁰⁹ Following his father's death he carried on the rulership down to our own times.²¹⁰ Voitachos was subjected to terrible tortures while being conveyed to the emperor and died, unable to bear the pain of his injuries.

18. The Germans²¹¹ and the Varangians, who are western peoples, were turned loose against the country. They destroyed the remaining palace of the Bulgarians that was in Prespa, ransacking the church there that had been founded in the name of St Achilleios. They spared not one of the holy objects

209 The point to be noted here is the existence of Italian trading networks, in this case Venetian, extending from the Adriatic to Syria and the Holy Land in the years before the First Crusade: Magdalino, *Byzantine Background*, 13–14.

210 He ruled from 1081 until 1099/1101. Shortly after coming to power in 1081, Alexios I Komnenos granted Vodinos the title of *protosebastos* and recognised him as lord of Duklja and Serbia: see Wassiliou-Seibt, "Das byzantinische Verteidigungssystem," 189–190; Cheynet, "La place de la Serbie," 95–96; Komatina, "Vizantijska titula Konstantina Bodina," 61–76.

211 Called *Alamanoi* in the Greek text.

ἐν ἐκείνῳ φεισάμενοι ἱερῶν, ὧν τινα μὲν αὖθις ἀνεσώθησαν, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ὁ στρατὸς διανειμάμενοι εἰς χρῆσιν ἰδίαν μετεσκεύασαν. Τῶν τις οὖν στρατιωτῶν, τῆς μακεδονικῆς φάλαγγος ὢν, ἀξιούμενος ἀποδοῦναι ὅπερ εἰλήφει ἱερόν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐπέισθη, ἀνθρακιάσας τοὺς ὤμους τελευτᾷ, τῆς δίκης μὴ ἀνασχομένης, ὡς ἔθος, ἀλλὰ μετελθούσης αὐτὸν εἰς ὑπόδειγμα τοῖς ὀψιγόνοις.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρακειμέναις τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰστρου πόλεσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἡμελημένων οἶα δὴ μὴδὲν εἰς διοίκησιν λαμβανόντων, στέλλεται ὁ βεστάρχης Νέστωρ, δοῦλος γεγονώς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, δοῦξ τῶν Παριστρίων ὀνομασθείς, καὶ συμφωνήσας τῷ Τατοῦς ὡς ὁμογνώμονι, Πατζινάκοις πλείοσιν ὀπισθενέας εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν παραγίνονται. Καταθεῖναι δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἐγκελευόμενος μὴ ἂν ἄλλως τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἔλεγεν, εἰ μὴ τὸν λογοθέτην Νικηφόρον ἐκ μέσου ποιήσοιεν ὡς κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον κοσμικὸν καὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγα λυπήσαντα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ περιουσίαν δημεύσαντα. Ἄλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐπέιθετο ἅπαξ ἑαυτὸν ταῖς αὐτοῦ γοητείαις καὶ ἀπάταις ἐκδεδωκώς. Ὁ δὲ Νέστωρ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀπανίσταται μὲν ἐκεῖθεν, ληίζεται δὲ τὴν τε Μακεδονίαν καὶ Θράκην καὶ τὰ παρακείμενα τῆς Βουλγαρίας καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Πατζινάκων ὑποχωρεῖ.



FIGURE 20 Seal of Nestor, “man” of the emperor Doukas (ca. 1067–1073). This seal, rich in iconography with the Mother of God shown raising Her hands to the medallion of Christ (obverse) and the owner’s namesake saint with St Demetrios depicted on the reverse, provides another example of the “man” of the emperor designation. In this case, however, the pledge of personal service to the emperor Constantine x Doukas did not carry over to the emperor’s son Michael, who entrusted Nestor with military command only to see him turn against Nikephoritzes and then flee Byzantine territory once his attempt to unseat his rival failed.

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in it. A few were recovered once again, but the army distributed the rest among its soldiers who converted them to their own private uses. One of the soldiers from the Macedonian contingent was asked to return a holy object which he had taken. When he did not obey, he died after hot coals were placed on his shoulders, since punishment was not withheld, as is customary, but inflicted upon him to make him an example to later generations.

19. Since the soldiers in the cities along the bank of the Danube were being neglected, in that they were receiving nothing towards their maintenance, the *vestarches* Nestor was sent out.²¹² A former servant of the emperor's father, he was named *doux* of Paristrion, but conspired with Tatous, a man of similar mind, and they set out for the Reigning City armed with large numbers of Patzinaks. When commanded to lay down his arms, Nestor said that he would take no other course unless they got rid of the *logothetes* Nikephoros as an enemy to all and an implacable foe who had done him no small amount of harm and confiscated his wealth. But the emperor did not accede to the demand, for he had succumbed once and for all to Nikephoros' blandishments and deceptions. After becoming the target of a plot hatched by his own followers, however, Nestor arose and departed from there.²¹³ He lay waste to Macedonia and Thrace and the regions neighbouring Bulgaria, and withdrew into the land of the Patzinaks.

167 Μοῖρα δὲ στρατιωτῶν, (τῶν) μακεδονικῶν, στερουμένη προσήλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν στέρησιν ἀποκλειομένη. Προστάξει οὖν βασιλικῇ τυφθέντες καὶ ὑβρισθέντες ἐδιώχθησαν, μηδεμιάς ἐπιστροφῆς αὐτῶν γενομένης. Ἄλλ' οἳ γε πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία λύπης οὐ μικρὰς ὑποστραφέντες ἀνάμεστοι οὐκ ἤθελον μένειν ἔτι ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φρονήματος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολέμιους πᾶσι τρόποις ἀμύνασθαι διεσκέπτοντο.

Ἀποστείλας δὲ τὸν Στραβορωμανὸν πρὸς τὸν τὴν Λογγιβαρδίαν κατέχοντα Φράγκον, Ρουμπέρτον καλούμενον, τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα τῷ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ γυναῖκα ἡγάγετο, Ἑλένην μετονομασθεῖσαν. Κατεσχέθη δὲ ἡ Λογγιβαρδία πρὸς τοῦ Ρουμπέρτου τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. Γεώργιος ὁ Μανιάκης ἐπὶ καταστάσει τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πραγμάτων ἀποσταλεῖς, παρὰ τῆς αὐγούστης Ζωῆς μάγιστρος τιμηθεὶς, προσηταιρίσατο μὲν Φράγκους πολλούς, καθημέρωσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Δοκειανοῦ κακωθέντας καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐν τισι θέμασι τῆς Ἰταλίας παρεσκεύασεν· ἐδεδίδεσαν γὰρ αὐτὸν πείραν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν πολέμοις γενναιότητος ἔχοντες. Ἀντάραντος δὲ τῷ Μονομάχῳ καὶ κατηγωνισμένου, οἱ μὲν σὺν αὐτῷ περαιωθέντες τῷ βασιλεῖ δουλωθέντες Μανιακάτοι τε ἐπωνομάσθησαν καὶ τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ ἐναπέμειναν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὑπελείφθησαν. Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Ρουμπέρτος τοῦνομα, ἀνεψιὸς Ἀρδούνου τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δοκειανοῦ μαστιχθέντος, δεινὸς καὶ θυμοειδής, τυραννικὸν ἔχων τὸ φρόνημα, ὅστις φανερώς μὲν ἐξελάσαι τῆς Ἰταλίας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐμελέτα, ὥκνει δὲ ὅμως τὴν ἐγχείρησιν καὶ ἀνεβάλλετο ἀσθενῇ ἑαυτὸν ὀρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἰσχὺν ὠρρώδει ἑαυτὸν ἀντεξαγαγεῖν. Τῆς δὲ γυναίκος αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἀπὸ Φραγκίας ἡγάγετο, τελευτησάσης ἐτέραν ἄγεται γυναῖκα, Γαῖταν μὲν καλουμένην, θυγατέρα δὲ οὖσαν τοῦ πρίγκιπος

214 Meaning soldiers from the *doukaton* of Macedonia. This episode took place in or about the year 1074; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 81 (no. 101).

215 Of supplies and pay.

216 The Byzantine province of Longibardia embraced the southeastern corner of Italy (the heel and spur of the boot); the city of Bari was the seat of the *strategos*.

217 The Norman adventurer Robert Guiscard; the envoy was Romanos Straboromanos.

218 The search for a marriage alliance with the Normans to counter the threat from the Turks began with Romanos Diogenes' overture in the spring of 1071; Robert Guiscard refused two invitations from Michael VII before agreeing to enter into negotiations in March 1074. On the course and outcome of these negotiations, see Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 209–213; Bibicou, "Une page d'histoire diplomatique"; Kolia-Dermitzaki, "Byzantine-Norman marriage negotiations"; Polemis, *Doukai*, 60–61; Jeffreys and Lauxtermann, *The Letters of Psellos*, 380 (S 143); and Laiou, "The Emperor's word," 348–352.

219 In the spring of 1042; cf. *Synopsis*, 422.23–26 and 425.3–6 (Wortley, 397 and 400).

220 The *protospatharios* and *doux* Michael Dokeianos, *katepano* of Italy in 1040–1041. The incident to which Skylitzes refers occurred in Sicily, after a Byzantine victory in which a Norman contingent had taken part. A quarrel over booty or pay led the Byzantine com-

20. A detachment of soldiers, Macedonians,²¹⁴ who had been deprived,²¹⁵ came to the emperor to complain about their deprivation. By imperial decree they were driven away with blows and insults, and their situation was not corrected. | They returned to their homes filled with great bitterness, no longer willing to remain loyal but planning to take every sort of revenge against their enemies. 167

21. After despatching Straboromanos as an envoy to the Frank who occupied Longibardia,²¹⁶ a man named Robert,²¹⁷ the emperor sought to betroth Robert's daughter (whose name was changed to Helene) to his son Constantine.²¹⁸ Longibardia had come under Robert's control in the following way. When George Maniakes was elevated to the rank of *magistros* by the empress Zoe and sent to restore the situation in Italy,²¹⁹ he attracted many Franks into his service. He appeased the ones who had been mistreated by Dokeianos²²⁰ and got them to lead a peaceful existence in some of the themes in Italy, for they had come to fear him upon sampling his prowess in battle. After he rebelled against Monomachos and was defeated, his followers who had crossed over with him were made to serve the emperor and became known as *Maniakatoi*.²²¹ Many remained in Roman territory, while the rest stayed behind in Italy. One of them was named Robert, nephew of Arduin,²²² the man scourged by Dokeianos. Robert was a formidable and hot-tempered man with a rebellious disposition who made no secret of his intention to drive the Romans out of Italy, but in view of his own weakness he hesitated and delayed his attempt, and he shrank from pitting himself against the emperor's strength. When the wife whom he had brought from France died, he married another woman whose name was Gaita,²²³ the daughter of a prince with a great deal of land under his

mander (here identified as Dokeianos) to have Arduin, the spokesman for the Normans, flogged in retaliation for his arrogant demands: see Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 78–80.

221 On the *Maniakatoi*, a term applied to Frankish and Norman soldiers who entered Byzantine service in the 1040s, see Shepard, "Uses of the Franks," 283–284.

222 This is incorrect. Arduin was an Italian, from Milan, who at the head of Norman forces twice defeated Dokeianos in southern Italy during the spring of 1041, whereupon he disappears from the historical record: see Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 92–95. He was in no way related (or connected) to Robert Guiscard, who arrived in Italy from Normandy about the year 1046.

223 The form of the name also used by Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* I.12.8; 15.1; IV.6.5 (a memorable passage describing her in battle, Sewter-Frankopan, 121); VI.6.3. In Latin sources, however, her name is given as Sichelgaita.

168 χώραν οὐκ ὀλίγην τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχοντος. Ἀγαγόμενος οὖν ταύτην κατώκησεν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς διαφερούσαις τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικί, ὣν ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη Σαλερνὸς ὀνομάζεται. Ἐκεῖθεν ὡς οἶα κλέπτης καὶ ληστής ἐξίων τὰ τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ ὑποκείμενα ἐληίζετο, τοῦτο μὲν Καλαβρίαν αἰχμαλωτίζων, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν δουλούμενος. Τῶν δ' ἀλι|σκομένων αἰχμαλώτων ὧν μὲν χεῖρας ἀφήρει, ὧν δὲ πόδας ἡκρωτηρίαζεν, ἄλλων δὲ ἀπέκοπτε καὶ ἀμφοτέρα, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἀπημπόλει χρημάτων πολλῶν, δεδιτ-
τόμενος ὡς, εἰ μὴ προδοῖεν τὰς πόλεις καὶ ὑποκλιθεῖεν αὐτῷ, οὐ τοιαῦτα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ χεῖρονα πείσονται.

Νοσοῦντων δὲ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τῶν οἰκείων οὐδεμία τῶν γινομένων ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἐγένετο ἐπιστροφή. Τοῦ γὰρ Μονομάχου μετὰ βραχὺ τελευτήσαντος, Θεοδώρας δὲ τῆς αὐγοῦστης ἐφ' ἓνα χρόνον τὴν βασιλείαν κατασχούσης, τοῦ τε Μιχαὴλ ἀναρρη-
θέντος καὶ τοῦ Κορνηνοῦ ἐπαναστάντος αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀσχολουμένων τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμοις, μηδενὸς τε ὄντος τοῦ τὴν ὁρμὴν τοῦ Ῥουμπέρτου κωλύσαν-
τος μέγας ἐκ τούτου καὶ περιβόητος γέγονε. Στρατὸν τε γὰρ ἀξιόλογον συνεστήσατο καὶ ἵππων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ἀρμάτων ἐγένετο κύριος, τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι στρατηγεῖν τεταγμένων πρὸς βασιλείῳς μὴ δυναμένων ἀντεξίναί τι ὀλιγανδρίᾳ καὶ κακότητι τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς. Τοῦ δὲ Κορνηνοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγκρατοὺς γενομένου τὰ μὲν τῶν Τούρ-
κων τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἔθλιβεν, οἱ δὲ Πατζινάκοι τὴν δύσιν ἐπέιζον. Ὑποχωρεῖ γοῦν τῆς Καλαβρίας ὁ Θρυμβός, ὃς ἐκεῖσε στρατηγῶν ἐτύγχανε, τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Σκριβωνας ἄγος ἀνέδην τετολμηκῶς· μὴ ἀρέσκον γὰρ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ὁρῶν τὸ πεπραγμένον φυγὰς εἰς βασιλείᾳ γίνεται. Στέλλεται γοῦν δούξ Ἰταλίας ὁ Ἀμβουλχαρέ.

Ὁ δὲ Ῥουμπέρτος τῇ τῶν Σκριβωνων ἀναιρέσει δεινοπαθοῦν τὸ γένος ὁρῶν τῶν Καλαβρῶν ἅμα καὶ τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ἀποστασίαν μελετῶν, οὐκέτι μὲν ὡς ὑποστρέ-
ψων ἔξεισι, σπουδῇ δὲ ἐλάσας αἰρεῖ τὸ Ῥήγιον, πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανή, ἐν ᾧ συνήθως ὁ δούξ Ἰταλίας διέτριβεν· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ οἰκῆματά τε διαπρεπῆ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονία πολλή. Ὁ δ' Ἀμβουλχαρέ τὸ Δυρράχιον καταλαβὼν ἐξ ἐκεί-
νου τε εἰς τὴν Βάριν περαιωθεὶς, πυθόμενος ὅτι τὸ Ῥήγιον ἔαλω, ἔμεινεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Βάρει κάκειθεν, ὡς ἦν δυνατόν, τῶν ἔτι τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονουσῶν ἀντείχετο πόλεων, στρατηγούς τε ἐφιστῶν καὶ στρατὸν ἐπιπέμπων εἰς φυλακὴν· ἔτι γὰρ ἐφρόνουν τὰ

224 Robert's first marriage was invalidated on the grounds of consanguinity; Gaita (whom he married in 1058), was the daughter of Guaimar IV, the Lombard ruler of Salerno (1027–1052) and the sister of his successor Gisulf II (1052–1077). On Robert's consolidation of power in southern Italy during the 1050s and the political benefits of his marriage into the Salernitan royal family, see Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, 111–130.

225 Leo Thymbos, *patrikos* and *strategos*.

226 In 1058. It is not clear who the Skribones were, either members (or partisans) of a leading family in Crotona or a group of army officers. Perhaps the conclusion to be drawn from these thin details is that disunity among the Byzantine factions in southern Italy played into the hands of the Normans.

control.²²⁴ After he married this woman, he resided in the cities that belonged to his wife, of which the first and largest was named Salerno. Venturing out from there just as a thief or robber, he raided the territories subject to the Romans, first capturing Calabria and then subjugating Italy. | He removed the hands of some of the prisoners he captured and cut off the feet of others, and severed both from yet others; some he sold for a great deal of money, and he made threats that if people did not surrender their cities and submit to him, they would suffer not only these torments but others even worse. 168

22. Since domestic affairs in the imperial palace were in poor condition, there was no reaction to the events in Italy. For Monomachos died shortly afterwards, the empress Theodora clung to power for one year, Michael was proclaimed and Komnenos rose in rebellion against him, the armies were caught up in civil wars, and since there was no one to resist Robert's onslaught, he became mighty and renowned. He established a battleworthy army and came into possession of horses, money, and weapons, whereas the men appointed by the emperor as *strategoi* in the cities were powerless to move out against him for lack of manpower and because of the cowardice of their men. When Isaac Komnenos became ruler of the empire, the raids of the Turks afflicted the east and the Patzinaks put pressure on the west. Thymbos had to leave Calabria where he had been *strategos*,²²⁵ since he had wantonly committed a terrible crime against the Skribones,²²⁶ and he went fleeing to the emperor once he saw how displeasing his deed had been to the local inhabitants. Amboulchare was accordingly sent out as *doux* of Italy.²²⁷

23. Observing that the people of Calabria were outraged at the massacre of the Skribones, and were at the same time using this as a reason for fomenting a rebellion, Robert no longer ventured out with the intention to return, but moved quickly to seize Reggio,²²⁸ a large and prominent city where the *doux* of Italy customarily resided. There were magnificent dwellings in that place and a great abundance of supplies. Upon reaching Dyrrachion, Amboulchare crossed from there to Bari. When he learned that Reggio had been captured, he himself remained in Bari and from there consolidated his hold on the cities still loyal to the Romans, appointing *strategoi* and sending forces to protect them.

227 Little is known about the commanders sent to Italy during this time; it appears that the emperors after Isaac Komnenos were interested only in holding strategic places and did not commit large numbers of soldiers and highly ranked officials to southern Italy. See Cheynet, "Les catépans d'Italie," 157–161.

228 Reggio di Calabria, the seat of the *strategos* of Calabria, which fell to Robert Guiscard in late 1059 or early 1060.

169 Ῥωμαίων ἢ τε Βάρης καὶ ἡ Ὑδροῦς, ἡ Καλλίπολις, ὁ Τάρας, τὸ Βρενδήσιον καὶ αἱ Ὠραι καὶ ἄλλα πολίχνια ἱκανὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ χώρα ἀπλῶς. Ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ δὲ προεβλήθη δοῦξ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁ Περηνός, στρατηγὸς δὲ Βρενδησίου Νικηφόρος ὁ Καραντηνός. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Περηνός μὴ δυνηθεὶς εἰς Λογγιβαρδίαν περαιωθῆναι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ῥουμπέρτου καταδυναστείαν, ἔμεινεν ἐν Δυρραχίῳ ὀνομασθεὶς τοῦ Δυρραχίου δοῦξ. Νικηφόρος δὲ ὁ Καραντηνός ἐκδρομὰς ποιουμένου τοῦ Ῥουμπέρτου καὶ κακώσεσι μυρίαὶς τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς κατατρύχοντος ἐδειλία μὲν, ἔμενε δ' ὅμως τὴν ἐκ βασιλέως ἀναμένων ἐπικουρίαν. Πᾶσαι μὲν οὖν αἱ ἰταλικάι πόλεις προσεχώρησαν καὶ φρουράν παρεδέξαντο· τινὲς δὲ φρουράν μὴ παραδεξάμεναι ὑπόφοροι κατέστησαν. Τούτων δὲ οὕτω τελομένων φυγεῖν μὲν ἔγνω καὶ ὁ Καραντηνός αὐξανομένους καθ' ἐκάστην ὥραν τοὺς Φράγκους, τὸ δὲ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἄδοξον λογιζόμενος ἔμενεν ἐπὶ χώρας, τὸ Βρενδήσιον συντηρῶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πίστει τε καὶ δουλώσει. Ἀπάτῃ δὲ καὶ δόλῳ τοὺς προσοίκους Φράγκους ὑπέρχεται. Λαθραίως οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐντυχὼν καὶ περὶ τοῦ προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν λόγους καὶ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν, ἤκοντας τοὺς Φράγκους ἐδέξατο ἀνιόντας διὰ κλίμακος. Ἐνα καθένα γοῦν τῶν ἀνιόντων ἀποσφάξας, εἰς ἑκάτον ἀριθμουμένους, τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν πλοῖψ ἐμβαλὼν περαιοῦται εἰς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἐκεῖθεν τε εἰς βασιλέα τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἄπεισιν ἄγγελος.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Περηνός ἐν τῷ Δυρραχίῳ ἔμενε, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν τὰ οἶκοι ἀνιὰρὰ ἔθλιβε, καὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν τὰ ἐκ τῶν Τούρκων δεινὰ ἐπίεζον, αὐξανόμενα καθ' ἐκάστην καὶ μηδεμίαν λαμβάνοντα ἄνεσιν καὶ ἀνακωχήν. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δούκα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως, τῆς βασιλίδος δὲ Εὐδοκίας πρὸς βραχὺ τῆς βασιλείας ἀντισχούσης, ἐπεὶ εἰς Διογένην τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας περιῆλθε, τῷ μὲν Ῥουμπέρτῳ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν δέος οὐ τὸ τυχὸν ἦν, μὴ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἐκπέσωσι πείραν τῆς αὐτοῦ γενναιότητος ἔχουσι, τῶν δὲ γε τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ διαφερόντων, χωρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων, πᾶσι 170 τρόποις ἀπήγον | ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ὑπέστελλον. Ταῖς δὲ κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἐκστρατεῖαις προσέχοντος καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πλέονι θλίβοντι τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν νέμοντος οὐκέτι μὲν ὥς δεσπότηι, τρόπον δὲ κλεπτῶν καὶ ληστῶν ἐπιόντες ὑπόφορα ἑαυτοῖς τὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐποίησαντο. Τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸν Διογένην, ἥπερ ἀνωτέρω διεῖληπται, οἰκονομηθέντων καὶ πραχθέντων, καὶ τοῦ Μιχαῆλ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμελῶς καὶ παιδαριωδῶς διιθύνοντος ὥς δεσπότηι βέβαιοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης τὴν τε Λογγιβαρδίαν

229 Echoing the list of cities that remained loyal to the Byzantines after their defeat at Montepeloso on September 3, 1041; cf. *Synopsis* 427.49–51 (Wortley, 402). Hydrous is to be identified as Otranto, Kallipolis as Gallipoli, Horai as Monte Maggiore.

230 Leo Perenos, *magistros*, and later *doux* of all the West.

231 Mentioned above as *doux* of Skopje.

For Bari, Hydrous, Kallipolis, Taranto, Brindisi, Horai | and a good number of 169
 other towns, and the whole area in general, remained loyal to the Romans.²²⁹
 In the meantime, Perenos was promoted to *doux* of Italy²³⁰ and Nikephoros
 Karantenos to *strategos* of Brindisi.²³¹ Since Perenos was unable to cross over to
 Longibardia because of Robert's domination of the region, he stayed in Dyrra-
 chion and was named *doux* of Dyrrachion. Nikephoros Karantenos was the
 prisoner of his fears while Robert carried out his raids and wore down the
 Italians with innumerable atrocities, yet he stayed at his post as he awaited
 aid from the emperor. All the Italian cities sided with him and received gar-
 risons. A few that did not accept a garrison paid sums in tribute. While matters
 took this course, Karantenos thought of fleeing as he saw the Franks growing in
 strength from day to day, but after taking the ignominy of disgrace into account
 he remained in the area, standing guard over Brindisi out of loyalty and duty to
 the emperor. By ruse and treachery he insinuated himself among the neigh-
 bouring Franks. After meeting secretly with them and exchanging promises
 about betraying the town, he received the Franks as willing guests. When they
 climbed a ladder up the wall, he slaughtered them one by one as they came
 up, as many as one hundred in total, and after putting their heads in a ship he
 crossed over to Dyrrachion, and from there set off to bring word of these events
 to the emperor.²³²

24. Perenos remained in Dyrrachion, domestic turmoil beset the empire,
 and the terrible incursions of the Turks afflicted the east as they increased day
 by day with no relief or respite. When the imperial sceptre came to Diogenes
 after the death of Constantine Doukas and the brief succession of the empress
 Eudokia, there was no reason for Robert and his followers to fear that upon get-
 ting a taste of Diogenes' prowess in battle they would be divested of their own
 lands and cities that in fact belonged to the Roman empire.²³³ Robert's parti-
 sans withdrew and disengaged themselves from Roman authority in every way
 possible. | While Diogenes concentrated on his expeditions against the Turks 170
 and devoted all his efforts to this more pressing concern, they set out not yet as
 masters but in the manner of thieves and marauders and brought the lands of
 Italy under their control. During the time when Diogenes administered affairs
 and took action in the way recounted above, and Michael heedlessly governed
 the empire as would a child, they became undisputed masters from sea to sea

232 This took place in 1070.

233 Reading διαφερουσῶν for διαφερόντων: the Greek text is not entirely coherent here, and the translation of this and the following sentence attempts to capture the sense of the pas-
 sage.

καὶ τὴν Καλαβρίαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπεποιήσαντο, καὶ ταύτην διανεμιάμενοι καὶ τὰ κάστρα διαμερισάμενοι ἑαυτοὺς μὲν κόμητας, τὸν δὲ Ῥουμπέρτον δοῦκα προσωνομάκασιν.

Ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀντεποιήσατο τῆς διαφορῆς αὐτῷ χώρας, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν τοὺς Τούρκους τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐξελάσειε, δέον ἐνόμισε σπείσασθαι αὐτῷ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀποσοβῆσαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἄλογον κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμανίας ἐπέλευσιν. Ὅθεν καὶ κῆδος πρὸς τὸν Ῥουμπέρτον ποιεῖται καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα Ἑλένην καταμνάται τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ. Ἡβούλετο μὲν ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς, πέρατι δὲ δοθῆναι παρὰ Θεοῦ κεκώλυνται πάλαι καταψηφισαμένου τῆς ἀνατολῆς πανωλεθρίαν καὶ ἀναστάτῳσιν.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐτέχθη ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τρίπους ὄρνις καὶ παιδίον ἔχον κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἓνα ὀφθαλμόν, τραγοςκελὲς δὲ τοὺς πόδας. Δύο δὲ τῶν ἀθανάτων στρατιωτῶν γεγόνασιν κεραυνόβλητοι. Τὸ δὲ τερατῶδες παιδίον (προτεθὲν) ἐν τῇ τῶν Διακονίσσης δημοσίᾳ παρόδῳ κλαυθμόν ἠφίει παιδικῶ προσεοικότα. Οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ κομῆται παρετείνοντο πλείστοι καὶ συχνοί.

171 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τὰ τῆς ἐώας ἐλγίζοντο, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ μὲν ἀνηρεῖτο, τὸ δὲ φεύγον τῇ Κωνσταντίνου προσέφευγεν, ἐδεῖτο μὲν ὁ καιρὸς οἰκονομικῆς καὶ πρεσβυτικῆς μεγαλοψύχου φρενός, ὁ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἦν φειδωλὸς καὶ μικρολόγος, ὥστε μὴδ' ὀβολὸν προέσθαι θέλει μὴδ' παρέχειν τινὶ τὸ οἰονοῦν ἢ πρόνοιαν γοῦν τροφῶν καὶ διὰ μετακομιδῆς γεννημάτων διὰ σιτηγῶν πλοίων ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ματαιᾷ καὶ ἀνονήτῳ περὶ λόγους σπουδῇ καὶ τῷ ἱαμβίζειν καὶ ἀναπαίστους συντιθέναι προσέχων διηνεκῶς, καίτοι μὴδ' ἐν χρῶ τῆς τέχνης γευσάμενος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὑπάτου ἐξαπατῶμενος καὶ ἀποβουκολούμενος τὸν κόσμον ὅλον διέφθειρεν, ὡς εἰπεῖν. Γίνεται γὰρ λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς, ᾧ δὴ καὶ λοιμὸς ἐπακολουθεῖ καὶ θάνατοι, τὰ σύντροφα ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώπων ἀδελφὰ καὶ ὁμότιμα. Καὶ ἔθνησκον καθ' ἐκάστην συχνοί, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ζῶντας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς νεκρούς, κὰν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐμβόλοις κείσθαι ἀτημελήτους καὶ φοράδην κομίζεσθαι πολλούς, πολλάκις ἐν

234 The chronology of Skylitzes' rather potted history of events in Italy needs clarification. Robert was invested duke of Calabria and Apulia by the Pope in 1059 but did not expel the Byzantines from southern Italy once and for all until the capture of Bari in 1071. It is also worth noting that by the terms of his agreement with Michael VII Robert was recognised as *doux* of Apulia and given the title of *nobilissimos*; he also received a number of dignities from the emperor which he was permitted to distribute among his followers, a remarkable concession intended to secure Robert's cooperation and elevate him above his rivals: see Cheynet, "Le gouvernement des marges," 114–115.

235 According to Bryennios, *Histoire*, 264–266, the Immortals (*Athanatoi*) was a new unit assembled by Nikephoritzes from soldiers of the eastern armies scattered by the Turks. The incident related here was thus an ill omen for the *logothetes*.

as they subjected Longibardia and Calabria to themselves. After dividing up this region and distributing the towns amongst themselves, they proclaimed themselves counts and named Robert duke.²³⁴

25. Not only did Michael make no attempt to recover the region that belonged to him, as was said, but in order to drive the Turks from the east he saw fit to come to an agreement with Robert and by means of his men or with them to fend off the reckless assault of the Turks against the Roman empire. For this reason he offered a marriage alliance to Robert and sought to betroth Robert's daughter Helene to his son Constantine. The emperor wished to have matters resolved in this way but was prevented by God, who had long ago ordained the ruin and destruction of the east.

26. During this time there were born in Constantinople a three-legged fowl and a child which had one eye in its forehead and the feet of a goat. Two soldiers of the Immortals were struck by lightning.²³⁵ When the monstrous infant was exposed on a public avenue in the district of Diakonissa it let out a wail sounding like that of a child. What is more, the sky was thick with a great many comets.

27. Given that the barbarians were ransacking the regions of the east, and a great many people were being massacred or streaming as refugees into the city of Constantine,²³⁶ the situation cried out for management by a veteran and magnanimous mind, wise in the ways of administration, and yet so stingy and indifferent was the emperor that he would neither part with a penny, nor lift a finger on anyone's behalf, nor ensure the supply of foodstuffs by having the harvests distributed or imported by ship. In his foolish and vain preoccupation with his literary studies and his incessant devotion to composing iambic verses and anapaests, even though he had no real knowledge of the art, he brought ruin upon the whole world, so to speak, beguiled and misled as he was by the consul of philosophers.²³⁷ There arose a severe famine, and in its wake came plague and death, as the concomitant maladies contributed equally to the destruction of human beings. Every day they died in droves so that the living were unable to bear the dead away.²³⁸ The dead lay neglected in the

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²³⁶ These were refugees from the provinces of Asia Minor (called *Asianoι* by Zonaras, xviii.17.9–10) who fled to Constantinople to escape the Turkish raids. Their presence in the capital was an important factor in the success of Nikephoros Botaneiates' rebellion since his supporters came mainly from the eastern part of the empire which they believed he would defend more vigorously than would the other contenders; see section vi.28.

²³⁷ An indirect reference to Michael Psellos; not found in Attaleiates, *History*, 26.8.

²³⁸ μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ζῶντας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς νεκροὺς: cf. *Synopsis* 405.74–75 (Wortley, 381) and 477.75–76 (Wortley, 445).

μιᾷ κλίνῃ πέντε καὶ ἕξ τιθεμένων νεκρῶν, καὶ πάντοθεν ἐπιρρέειν τὰ σκυθρωπὰ καὶ πάσης κατηφείας πληροῦσθαι τὴν βασιλεύουσιν. Τῶν δὲ καθημερινῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ τῶν παρανόμων κριμάτων καὶ εἰσπράξεων οὐδεμία τις ἀναστολὴ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ἐπενοεῖτο, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ μηδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἐνοχλοῦντος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀλλοφύλου πολέμου ἢ θείας ὀργῆς ἢ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατατρυχούσης ἐνδείας καὶ βίας βιοτικῆς, οὕτως ἀδεῶς ἔπραττον τὰ θεομισῇ καὶ τυραννικά. Καὶ πᾶν προβούλευμα βασιλικὸν καὶ ἐννόημα εἰς τὸ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀδικεῖν καὶ κατασοφίζεσθαι καὶ θηρεύειν τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τῆς ζωῆς κατεγίνετο, ὡς καὶ ἄχρι τῶν θείων σηκῶν ἐπεκταθῆναι τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τούτων κειμήλια καὶ ἐπιπλα ἀφελῆσθαι.

172 Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων διοικουμένων καὶ οὕτω τῶν τε ἐκτὸς καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς λεηλατουμένων καὶ κεραϊζομένων δυσβουλία καὶ κακότητι τῶν | κρατούντων, οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ προέχοντες, Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ Καβάσιλας, ὁ Στραβορωμανός, οἱ Συναδηνοί, ὁ Γουδέλιος καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἀρχόντων λογάς, ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ ἀποστασίαν ὠδίνεσαν εἰς ἔργον ἐξάγουσι νῦν καὶ τὸν κουροπαλάτην Νικηφόρον τὸν Βοτανειάτην συνελθόντες βασιλέα ἀναγορεύουσιν, Ὀκτωβρίου μηνὸς ἱσταμένου τῆς πρώτης ἐπινεμήσεως. "Ὅπερ εἰς ὧτα τῷ βασιλεῖ πεσὼν οὐ μετρίως αὐτὸν διετάραξεν· ἦν γὰρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν προλεγόμενον ὡς ἔσται ποτὲ ὅτε ὑπερτερήσῃ τὸ Ν τοῦ Μ. Καὶ αὐτίκα τοῖς Τούρκοις ὡς οἰκείοις καὶ γνησίοις ἔγραψεν ὑπισχνούμενος καὶ δῶρα δοῦναι, εἰ μόνον συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξαποστείλωσιν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Βοτανειάτης τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, ἐκ τοῦ Φωκᾶ τὸ γένος πολυπλόκως μὲν ἀλλ' ὅμως κατάγων καὶ τῶν περιωνύμων Φλαβίων, οἱ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ τῆς περιδόξου καὶ πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης κατήγον, καθὼς ἡ ἀνέκαθεν παράδοσις κρατεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ. Τρίτην δὲ ἄγοντος τοῦ Ὀκτωβρίου μηνός, μέλλοντος ἤδη τὴν βασιλικὴν πῆξασθαι σκηνὴν φῶς ἀθρόον περὶ τὸν ἀέρα διεφάνη περὶ πρώτας νυκτὸς φυλακὰς μέχρι Χαλκηδόνος καὶ Χρυσοπόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἀνακτόρων· ὃ καὶ οἰωνὸς ἀγαθὸς πᾶσιν ἔδοξεν, ὡς ἐπιφοιβάξιν τινὰς ἀπὸ Λάμπης λαμπτήρα φωσφόρον ἐπιδημῆσαι τοῖς βασιλείοις.

239 Later appointed *doux* of Skopje by Botaneiates; see below, VII.13.

240 Cheynet notes the origins of these aristocrats in western Asia Minor, regions still under Byzantine control but already under pressure from the Turks. They rallied to Botaneiates almost as a second Romanos Diogenes, a commander capable of repelling the threat. He identifies Goudelios as the *nobelissimos* John Goudeles; the other supporters (Romanos Straboromanos and the Synadenoi being relatives of Botaneiates, one of them, Nikephoros Synadenos, later being designated heir to the throne by Botaneiates) are enumerated in *Pouvoir et contestations*, 84–85 (no. 105), and 349–355, where the rebellion is discussed at length.

so-called porticoes and many were taken away on stretchers, often with five or six corpses piled on each one. The look of woe was everywhere and the Reigning City was filled with despair. Those in power gave no thought to curbing the daily injustices and the unlawful trials and exactions, but freely carried on with their oppressive and wicked policies just as though there was nothing at all the matter with the Romans, no war with foreign enemies, no divine wrath, no indigence and violence taking their toll on the populace in their daily life. Every last imperial design and notion was concocted in order to commit some unjust act against their own subjects, to outwit them, or to get their hands on their resources and means for living, with the result that their greed extended even to the holy shrines whose treasures and properties were hauled off.

28. This was how affairs were being administered, and how the people living outside and inside the City were being despoiled and robbed by the scheming and misconduct of the rulers. | In the east, the foremost men, Alexander Kabasilas,²³⁹ Straboromanos, the Synadenoï, Goudelios, and the rest of the senatorial officials now put into effect the rebellion which they had long been labouring to achieve,²⁴⁰ and coming together they acclaimed the *kouropalates* Nikephoros Botaneiates emperor in the month of October of the first indiction.²⁴¹ When word of this reached the emperor's ears it caused him considerable distress, for there was a prophecy repeated by many that one day N would prevail over M.²⁴² He immediately wrote to the Turks as though to his friends and kinsmen, promising to give them gifts if only they would seize Botaneiates and his followers and deliver them to him. Botaneiates was of illustrious ancestry, tracing his descent through various lines from Phokas and also from the renowned Flavii who originated from the glorious Rome of old, as longstanding tradition has it about him. On the third day of the month of October, when Botaneiates was about to pitch his imperial tent, a sudden light flashed through the air during the first watch of the night, reaching far as Chalcedon and Chrysopolis and the palace at Blachernai. It seemed a favourable omen to all, some taking it to mean that a radiant light-bringer from Lampe would come to dwell in the palace.

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241 In October of 1077.

242 That is to say, Nikephoros would supplant Michael. The odds of this happening were in fact very good, since four contenders by that name were to appear between 1077 and 1080—Nikephoros Bryennios, Nikephoros Botaneiates, Nikephoros Basilakes, and Nikephoros Melissenos.

173 Ὁρμημένου δὲ ἤδη πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀποστατικῇ ἐτέρᾳ κακόνοια τὴν δύσιν περι-
 εκλόνησε. Νικηφόρος γὰρ πρόεδρος ὁ Βρυέννιος τὴν τοῦ Δυρραχίου δουικὴν διέπων
 ἀρχὴν καὶ ταύτης παραλυθεὶς βασιλέως ἑαυτῷ περιέθηκεν ὄνομα, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείσε
 στρατιώταις ὁπαδοῖς καὶ συνεργοῖς χρῆσάμενος ἔξεισι μὲν ἐκείθεν, ἐπείγεται δὲ πρὸς
 Ἀδριανούπολιν. Ὁ γὰρ αὐτάδελφος αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης τινὰς τῶν ἐσπερίων δυνάμεων εἰς
 τὴν προσδοκωμένην ἐπιβουλὴν καταρτύσας, μετὰ Βαράγγων καὶ Φράγκων πλήθους
 πολλοῦ, τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνθέσθαι παρεσκεύασε, | σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ τὸν κατεπάνω τῆς
 αὐτῆς πόλεως, συγγενέα τούτου τυγχάνοντα. Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καταλαβεῖν δὲ εἰς Ἀδρι-
 ανούπολιν τὴν εὐφημίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν προδιεγράψαντο. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
 μαλθακώτερον πρὸς τὰ πράγματα διακείμενος ἦν· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν τούτου, εὐκόλως ἂν
 τὸν Βρυέννιον κατηγωνίσαστο, στρατὸν τε ἰδιαίτατον ἔχων, οὓς ὀνομάζουσιν ἀθανά-
 τους, καὶ ἕτερον οὐκ ἀγεννὴ ἀπὸ συγκλύδων ἀνδρῶν συγκείμενον, καὶ διὰ πάντων
 εὐχερῶς εἶχεν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει μὲν πρότερον, εἴτα δὲ καὶ τῷ Βρυεν-
 νίῳ αὐτῷ. Ἄλλ', ὡς εἴρηται, ῥαθυμώτερον σχὼν ἐκείνόν τε ὕψωσε καὶ ἐκ μικροῦ μέγαν
 ἐποίησε καὶ ἑαυτῷ παρέσχε πράγματα.

Καὶ Νικηφόρος γὰρ πρόεδρος ὁ Βασιλάκιος διάδοχος αὐτοῦ σταλείς, ἐν Θεσσα-
 λονίκῃ συναντήσας αὐτῷ εἴ γε δεξιῶς ἐχρήσατο τοῖς πράγμασιν, εὐκόλως ἂν αὐτὸν



FIGURE 21 Seal of Alexander Kabasilas, *nobelissimos* (ca. 1081). We do not know when Kabasilas received this title, but this politically adept aristocrat sided with Alexios Komnenos against Nikephoros Botaneiates and commanded a portion of Alexios' army on the march to Constantinople. He did well under the Komnenoi, rising to *protonobelissimos* and receiving an important command in Alexios' army during the campaign against Bohemond in 1108.

BZS 1951.31.5.705. © DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION, WASHINGTON DC

29. When he had already set out for Byzantium, another malicious rebellion embroiled the west.²⁴³ The *proedros* Nikephoros Bryennios,²⁴⁴ who had been holding the office of *doux* of Dyrrachion until discharged from this duty, conferred upon himself the title of emperor, and with the help of the soldiers there, his supporters, and his collaborators, set off from that place and pushed on to Adrianople. His brother John had procured some of the western forces for the expected plot, along with a great number of Varangians and Franks, and he prepared to join forces with his brother. | Accompanying them was the *katepano* of that city who happened to be a relative of his.²⁴⁵ Even before he reached Adrianople they had already hailed and acclaimed him as emperor. The emperor tended to react too slowly to events. Had this not been the case, he could have made short work of Bryennios, since he had his very own army, which they called the Immortals, and another respectable force composed of disparate soldiers. Using these forces he could easily have attacked the men in Adrianople first, and then Bryennios himself. But, as said, he showed himself to be rather indolent, and he raised up that fellow and from a little man made him an important one,²⁴⁶ and thereby created a great deal of trouble for himself.

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30. The *proedros* Nikephoros Basilakes, who had been sent as Bryennios' successor, could have easily defeated him at the beginning of the rebellion if he had handled matters effectively when he encountered him at Thessalonike.

243 This rebellion broke out in November of 1077, pitting Bryennios and his supporters based in the western part of the empire against the emperor Michael and a rival contender, Botaneiates. See Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 83–84 (no. 104), 351. Note that Skylitzes and Attaleiates have Botaneiates being the first of the three contenders to stake his claim to the throne, whereas Bryennios has his grandfather make the first move.

244 The same Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder met above in the section on Mantzikert. The story of his rebellion is told at length by his grandson who makes Nikephoros' brother John the driving force behind the revolt: *Histoire*, 210–236.

245 Katakalon Trachaneiotas, son of the Joseph Trachaneiotas mentioned above (v.6; 12). He was connected to Nikephoros Bryennios by marriage, having forged a matrimonial alliance between the Trachaneiotai and the Bryennioi by marrying his sister to Nikephoros' nephew.

246 This seems to be an indirect reference to Nikephoritzes.

174 ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἀποστασίας κατηγωνίσατο. Καταλαβὼν δὲ εἰς Τραϊανούπολιν ἐκείσε τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ συνήντησεν Ἰωάννη καὶ τοῖς ἐξ Ἀδριανουπόλεως Φράγκοις τε καὶ Μακεδόσι καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονοῦντι στρατεύματι· ἔνθα καὶ τὰ βασιλικά παράσημα περιβάλλεται. Κατασφαισάμενός τε πάντας ὄρκους καὶ συνθήκαις φρικταῖς οὕτω τὴν εὐφημίαν ἀπειλήφει μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ δορυφορίας πολλῆς, καὶ οἷα βασιλεὺς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπάρχεται καὶ τῆς Ἀδριανουπόλεως ἐπιβαίνει σὺν πολλῇ τιμῇ καὶ σεβάσματι, ἐξαισίαν ὑπάντησιν ποιησαμένων αὐτῷ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ οἰκειῶς ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ θεραπευτικῶς. Ἀντεπεξελθὼν δὲ τισιν ὁ πρόεδρος Κωνσταντίνος ὁ Θεοδοροκά-
νος τῶν τοῦ Βρυεννίου ἀλίσκεται καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτος ἄγεται, ἀνὴρ ἔνδοξος καὶ γένους ἐπισημότητι καὶ βίου λαμπρότητι καταφανὲς γινωσκόμενος. Παρωράθη δὲ ὡς εἰς τῶν ἀτίμων καὶ ἀγεννῶν· οὐ μὴν δὲ σωματικὴν τιμωρίαν ὑπέστη, καίτοι γε ἐπίδο-
ξος ἦν ταύτην παθεῖν διὰ προηγησαμένας ἔχθρας καὶ μάχας κεφαλικάς· φυγα|δευθεὶς δὲ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν μακεδονικῶν πόλεων, μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῷ χρεῶν ἐλειτούργησε.

Τὸ δὲ τὰ βασιλικά παράσημα ἐν Τραϊανουπόλει περιβαλέσθαι τὸν Βρυέννιον καὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνάρρησιν δέξασθαι οὐκ ἀγαθὸν οἰωνὸν οἱ συνετώτεροι καὶ ἐχέφρονες ἐλογίζοντο. Ἡ γὰρ Τραϊανούπολις αὕτη οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ βασιλέως Τραϊανοῦ ὠκοδομήθη—ὑπ' ἐκείνου μὲν γὰρ ἐκ καινῆς ὠκοδόμηται—ἐπ' ὀνόματι δὲ τῶν μεγιστάνων τινὸς Γότθου, Τραϊανοῦ καλουμένου, γενναίου τὸ τηνικαῦτα κατὰ τε χεῖρα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν, ὃν διὰ τι πταῖσμα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐστέρησεν ὁ καῖσαρ Τραϊανός. Ἐπὶ Πέρσας δὲ διῶν ἐνταῦθα τοῦτον ἐθεάσατο πρῶτον, καὶ περιώδυνος ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ γενόμενος, τῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀναμνησθεὶς, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ πόλιν ἐκέλευσε πόλιν εἰς μνήμην ἄλυστον τοῦ ἀνδρός. Διὰ ταῦτα γοῦν οὐκ ἀγαθὸν οἰωνὸν τὸ γεγονός οἱ ἐχέφρονες ἐλογίζοντο.

Ὅμως γοῦν τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα ὁ Βρυέννιος ἀγνοῶν—τυφλὸν γὰρ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄνθρωπος—τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντείχετο. Ἐφρόνησε δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡ Ῥαιδεστός συν-
εργία τῆς συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ Βατατζίνης. Οἱ δὲ Ῥαιδεστηνοὶ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Πανίου ἐξωρμηκότες ἐβιάσαντο καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν Βρυέννιον. Τιμήσας δὲ τὸν ἑαυ-
τοῦ ἀδελφὸν κουροπαλάτην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀναλόγως καὶ ἀξίως τῆς ἰδίας καταστάσεως, φοβερός πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδι δι' ἀποστολῆς τοῦ ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ φανῆ-
ναι ἐνόμισε. Παραδοὺς γὰρ αὐτῷ στρατὸν οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἦν ὡς, ἐπεὶ περ οἱ

247 ἐκ καινῆς: a phrase used of new building projects in the *Synopsis*, 161.6 (Wortley, 155), 162.25 (Wortley, 156), 163.67 (Wortley, 157), 311.75 (Wortley, 294).

248 This story, of no known origin, is Skylitzes' addition to the premonitory signs that he faithfully retains from Attaleiates. On the one hand, these unheeded or unrecognised warnings confer the wisdom of hindsight upon the historian, but on the other, Attaleiates, Psellos, and Skylitzes included these stories so that "sensible," "discerning" people would develop their ability to "read" the present and become more attuned to the powers guiding human affairs—there was no better reason to study history. See Krallis, *Politics of Imperial Decline*, 205–211.

Upon reaching Traianoupolis, Bryennios joined up with his brother John and the Franks and Macedonians from Adrianople, as well as the rest of the army supporting his conspiracy. There the imperial insignia were placed upon him. Once he had secured the loyalty of all with oaths and solemn agreements, he then received the acclamation with loud cries of support amidst a large bodyguard. In the role of emperor he took up affairs of state and entered Adrianople to great honour and reverence, as the citizens accorded him an extraordinary reception since they were on familiar terms with him and supported him. The *proedros* Constantine Theodorokanos, a distinguished man renowned for the nobility of his lineage and the brilliance of his career, who had marched out against a few of Bryennios' followers, was captured and brought before him as a prisoner. He was treated with contempt, as if he were one of the unworthy and ignoble multitude. Still, he did not undergo any physical punishment, although he had expected to suffer this on account of past enmities and personal vendettas. | He made his escape to one of the cities in Macedonia, and not long afterwards paid his debt to Necessity.

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31. People of superior intelligence who kept their wits about them thought it an ill omen that Bryennios had put on the imperial insignia and been hailed and acclaimed in Traianoupolis. For Traianoupolis itself was not founded in the name of the emperor Trajan—though it was built by him from scratch²⁴⁷—but of a certain Goth named Trajan, one of the grandees, in that time a man as noble in deed as he was in spirit, whom the emperor Trajan deprived of his eyes for some transgression or other. It was when the Caesar Trajan was departing on campaign against the Persians that he first beheld the man. Stricken with anguish at the sight, and reminded of his generalship and courage, he gave orders to build a city at that very place in unforgettable memory of the man.²⁴⁸ This was why sensible people considered the event an ill omen.

32. Nevertheless, not given to know where any of this was leading (for humans cannot discern the future), Bryennios pursued his course. The town of Raidestos supported him thanks to the cooperation of his relative Batatzina.²⁴⁹ The citizens of Raidestos also set out against Panion and compelled them as well to proclaim Bryennios emperor. After honouring his own brother as *kouropalates* and all the rest of his followers in like and appropriate fashion with their own place in the hierarchy, he decided to present an intimidating appearance to the Queen of Cities by sending his brother on ahead. He entrusted a not inconsiderable army to his brother in the hope that since the

249 The wife of John Batatzes, a relative of Bryennios; her role is described by Attaleiates, *History*, 31.3.

πολίται τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν λογοθέτην δι' ὀργῆς καὶ μίσους οὐκ ἀγεννώς ἔχουσι, προσέξουσί τε αὐτῷ καὶ προσδέχονται σὺν ὁμολογίαις ἐντός, καὶ οὕτως ἀδεῶς ἐπιφοιτήσει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἐτοιμασίᾳ βασιλικῇ. Ἀλλὰ πολὺ διήμαρτε τοῦ σκοποῦ. Εἰ γὰρ
 175 καὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἐδήλωσε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνείλε τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ὑποχωρήσαντος | ἔναγχος τοῦ προέδρου Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, ὃς ἐν Σηλυβρία ἐφῆδρευεν, ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ τὴν βασιλίδαν οἰκοῦντες οὐδαμῶς πρὸς τὴν ἐπιφοίτησιν τῆς τοῦ Βρυεννίου στρατιᾶς κατεπλάγησαν· παραγενόμενοι γὰρ ἡκροβολίσαντο κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, καὶ ἀποκρουσθέντες ἐπεραιώθησαν τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος γέφυραν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε πάντα πυρὶ κατελυμήναντο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου πεπραχότες ὑπέστρεψαν ἐκεῖθεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ δύο τάγματα λαβὼν τῷ Ἀθύρᾳ ἐπιφοιτᾷ, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν στρατιὰν εἰς παραχειμασίαν ἀπέστειλεν.

Ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ κακῶν γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς μόλις εἰς μνήμην ἦκε τοῦ Ῥουσελίου, φυλακῇ καὶ δεσμοῖς καὶ ἔτι συνεχομένου καὶ τῷ Βοτανειάτῃ αὐτομολῆσαι ἐπιχειρήσαντος. Ἐξαγαγὼν οὖν αὐτὸν τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ ἀσπασίας ἀξιώσας τιμῆς καὶ ἀνέσεως, καὶ πολλοῖς ἐπαγωγῶν καὶ θελκτηρίοις πρὸς αὐτὸν χρησάμενος ῥήμασιν, εἰς τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Βρυεννίου παράταξιν διηρέθισε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν τοῖς σὺν τῷ Βρυεννίῳ Φράγκοις διαλεχθῆναι παρέπεισεν. Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπεισεν, ὁ Ῥουσέλιος ἐπιστρατεύει τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῦ Βρυεννίου ἐν τῷ Ἀθύρᾳ διατρίβοντι—στρατηγούντος τοῦ προέδρου Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι στρατιωτῶν—ὄρκοις ἀσφαλῆσαι πρότερον τὰ πιστὰ δεδωκώς, συναποσταλέντων διὰ θαλάσσης καὶ ῥωσικῶν πλοίων κατ' αὐτῶν, αὐτῶν δὲ πεζῇ κατεπειξάντων πρὸς τὸν Ἀθύραν. Ἀλλ' ἔφθασαν προγόντες διαφυγεῖν. Ἐπιδιώξαι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ῥουσέλιον καὶ τὸν Κομνηνὸν βουλόμενοι καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων σφῆλαι πολλοὺς, οὐκ ἔσχον πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας, δεδιότας τὸ ἐκβησόμενον. Ἔπεσον δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων πολλοὶ καὶ ζῶντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἐάλωσαν, καὶ λαφυραγωγία ἐλήφθη πολλή καὶ τὰ πράσινα τοῦ κουροπαλάτου ὀχήματα, ὃς καὶ φεύγων ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Ῥαιδεστόν. Οἱ δὲ Πατζινάκοι μετὰ πλῆθους οὐκ ἐλαχίστου τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει ἐπεφάνησαν, καὶ ταύτην περικαθίσαντες τινὰς κατὰ τῆς χώρας ἀπέστειλαν καὶ τὰ ταύτης κάλλιστα ἐλωβήσαντο, φόνον μὲν ἀνδρῶν ποιησάμενοι, ζῶων δὲ ἀγέλας ἀπείρους ἐλάσαντες καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν εἶδος παραλιπόντες κακώσεως. Ὁ δὲ Βρυέννιος ἐπὶ συνθήκαις καὶ
 176 δόσει χρυσοῦ πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑφασμάτων ὑποχωρῆσαι | παρασκευάσας αὐτοὺς ἡργυρολόγει τοὺς ἰδίους, παντὶ τρόπῳ τοῦ κατὰ σκοπὸν μὴ διαμαρτεῖν προθυμούμενος. Ἀποσταλεῖς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης εἰς τὴν τῆς Κυζίκου χερρόνησον ἐπειράτο τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ὑπαγαγέσθαι. Ἐντυχὼν δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Ῥουσέλιος κατὰ κράτος αὐτὸν ἐτροπώσατο, ἐνισταμένου Μαρτίου μηνὸς τῆς πρώτης ἰνδικτικῶνος.

250 John Bryennios is the unnamed protagonist here.

251 πολλοῖς ἐπαγωγῶν καὶ θελκτηρίοις: cf. *Synopsis*, 81.94 (Wortley, 82) and 317.49 (Wortley, 301).

252 March 1078.

citizens rightly regarded the emperor and the *logothetes* with anger and hatred, they would come over to him and receive him inside the city after coming to an agreement. He would safely make his way there with a proper imperial retinue. But he missed the mark by quite a bit. Even though he burned Herakleia and killed many of the people there | after the *proedros* Alexios Komnenos, who was lying in wait in Selymbria, had just retreated, the inhabitants of the Queen of Cities were in no wise taken aback at the arrival of Bryennios' army. For once his soldiers got there, they launched some projectiles at the wall of the Blachernai, and after being driven off they crossed the bridge of St Panteleëmon and put everything in the vicinity to the torch. After achieving nothing worthy of note they beat a retreat from the place. He himself took two *tagmata* and made for Athyra, and sent the rest of the army into winter quarters.²⁵⁰

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33. Finding himself in such a dire predicament, the emperor remembered Rouselios in the nick of time. He was still being kept enchained in prison after attempting to desert to Botaneiates. He therefore brought him out of prison, and after granting him every honour and his release he used many flattering and soothing speeches on him.²⁵¹ He incited him to confront Bryennios in battle and he persuaded him to speak from the walls to the Franks who were with Bryennios. Since he did not persuade them, Rouselios, after first pledging his loyalty with binding oaths, marched out against Bryennios' brother who was biding his time in Athyra—in command was the *proedros* Alexios Komnenos, accompanied by the soldiers in the Queen of Cities. Rus' ships had also been sent against the enemy, while Komnenos and Rouselios pressed on towards Athyra on foot. But the rebels, who had prior knowledge, had already taken to flight. The men with Rouselios and Komnenos wished to give chase and finish them off, but they could not get the soldiers to obey since they were afraid of what might happen. Many of Bryennios' soldiers from Macedonia fell and not a few were captured alive, and a great deal of plunder was taken, as were the green carts of the *kouropalates* who went fleeing back to Raideostos. In no small number the Patzinaks appeared before Adrianople and, after encamping around it, sent parties out against the region and ravaged its best parts, slaughtering the menfolk, driving off countless herds of livestock, and eschewing no sort of evil. By means of treaties, a gift of money as well as of fabrics, | Bryennios managed to make them go away, but he prised great sums out of his own people in his eagerness not to miss his target. His brother John was despatched to the promontory of Kyzikos in an attempt to bring the locals under his authority. Rouselios encountered him and thoroughly routed him, at the beginning of March in the first indiction.²⁵²

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Τοῦ δὲ πατριάρχου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ξιφιλίνου κοιμηθέντος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀγήρω λήξιν μεταθεμένου ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔτερον προεχειρίσατο, οὐ τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου τινά, οὐ τῶν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, οὐκ ἄλλον οὐδένα τῶν Βυζαντινῶν τῶν ἔκ τε λόγου καὶ πράξεως ὀνομαστῶν καὶ περιωνύμων, Κοσμᾶν δὲ τινά μοναχὸν τῆς ἀγίας μὲν πόλεως ἀφιγμένον, μεγίστη δὲ τιμῇ παρὰ βασιλέως τιμώμενον διὰ τὴν ἐπιπρέπουσαν αὐτῷ ἀρετὴν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς θύραθεν σοφίας ἀγευστος ἦν καὶ ἀμύητος, ἀλλ' ἀρεταῖς ποικίλαις ἐνωραΐζετο. Διὸ καὶ πάντων ὑπεριδὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶν οἰάκων καθίζει τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

Ὁ δὲ Βοτανειάτης τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν εὖ διαθέμενος καὶ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον ἔργον, ὁ ἀνερρίψατο, ἐτοιμαζόμενος, πάντας ὅσοι ποτὲ στρατείας μετεποιήσαντο προσκαλεσάμενος, τάγματα ἐκ τούτων συνεστήσατο, οἷς καὶ χρημάτων διανομὴ καὶ ἀξιωμάτων περιωπῇ τὸ ἀμέριμον περιεποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὸ προκείμενον ἐπέρρωσε τὸ πρόθυμον. Ὡν ἀκούσαντες καὶ οἱ τὴν Νίκαιαν τηρεῖν πρὸς βασιλέως ἐσταλμένοι παμπληθεὶ αὐτῷ προσεφοίτησαν αὐτόμολοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμαχητὶ προδεδώκασιν. Συνεστήσατο δὲ καὶ τουρκικὸν στρατὸν ἀξιόλογον, οὗ καθηγεῖτο Κουτλουμοὺς ἐκεῖνος ὁ περιβόητος σὺν υἱέσι πέντε τούτους προσεταιρισάμενος, προσγενεῖς μὲν τῷ σουλτάνῳ τυγχάνοντας καὶ ἀντιποιοιμένους τῆς περσικῆς ἀπάσης ἐπικρατείας, ἀδυνατήσαντας δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον μαχέσασθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ ἐπιδημήσαντας κράτος ἐκείνῳ ἀντίθετον κατακτήσασθαι.

177 μᾶλλον δέ, εἰ δεῖ τάλληθές εἰπεῖν, μάχην συστήσασθαι πρὸς τὸν σουλτάνον καὶ περὶ τῆς ὅλης ζυγομαχοῦντας ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὸν τόπον ὃς καλεῖται Ῥέ. Καὶ ἤδη συρρήγνυσθαι μελλόντων τῶν στρατευμάτων εἰς ὧτα πίπτει τὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ χαλιφᾷ, ὃς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ἰσοθέῳ τιμᾶται τιμῇ. Κάκεινος αὐτίκα καταφρονήσας παντὸς ὄγκου καὶ ἔθους—οὐ γὰρ ἐφεῖται αὐτῷ προβαίνειν τῆς ἰδίας καταγωγῆς ἐκτὸς—ταχὺς ἐλάσας εἰς τὸ Ῥέ παραγίνεται καὶ τὰς παρατάξεις εὗρεν μελλούσας ἤδη συρρήγνυσθαι. Μέσος στάς τὰ πρὸς εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς διήτησεν ἐπὶ συμφέροντι μὲν τῶν Περσῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς, ἐπὶ κακῷ δὲ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας καὶ ἐξουσίας. Λόγων γὰρ διαφόρων κινήθοντων καὶ λεχθέντων τελευταῖον κρατεῖ τὸ δόξαν αὐτῷ κοινῇ λυσιτελές, ὥστε τὸν μὲν σουλτάνον ἄρχειν τῆς Περσίδος, ἥπερ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Κουτλουμοὺς λαβόντας δύναμιν παρὰ τοῦ σουλτάνου καὶ συγχέρειαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώραν ἑαυτοῖς περιποιήσασθαι καὶ ἔχειν εἰς ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ βασιλείαν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐπηρεάζειν ἀλλήλοις ἢ ἐνοχλεῖν. Καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ὑποθήκῃ

253 August 2, 1075.

254 Not least his loyalty to the Doukas family; see Cheynet, "Patriarches et empereurs," 10.

255 Kosmas was Patriarch from 1075 to 1081.

256 To be distinguished from the Seljuk chieftain Koutlounous (Qutlumush) who died in 1063. His son, Suleyman ibn Koutlounous, was active in western Asia Minor as early as 1075 but played an ever more important role in Seljuk-Byzantine relations after becoming an ally of Botaneiates in 1077–1078. See Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim Turkish Anatolia*, 171–192, 198–224.

34. When the Patriarch John Xiphilinos died and was brought to his eternal abode,²⁵³ the emperor appointed another, not a member of the Senate, nor of the Great Church, nor any one famed and renowned for word and deed from the city of Byzas, but a certain monk, Kosmas, who came from the Holy City and was treated with greatest respect by the emperor because of his manifest virtue. For although he had not tasted of secular learning and was unschooled in this, he was adorned with a range of virtues.²⁵⁴ It was on this account that the emperor passed over the rest and placed him at the helm of the Great Church.²⁵⁵

35. Botaneiates had put his affairs in order and braced himself for the coming task which he had undertaken. He called together all those who had once served and formed regiments from them, and by distributing money to them and distinguishing them with dignities he brought in the reluctant and strengthened their resolve for the task ahead. When the soldiers sent by the emperor to guard Nicaea heard this, they deserted *en masse* to Botaneiates and gave up the city without a fight. He assembled a large Turkish contingent under the command of the famous Koutlounous whom he had brought over to his side along with his five sons.²⁵⁶ They were relatives of the sultan who were staking claim to the entire Persian empire, but were not strong enough to make war on him. For this reason they had come to the Roman empire to win over a power that rivalled his.

36. If the truth be told, however, they had prepared for war | against the sultan and had been set to commence the struggle for supreme rulership at the place which is called Rayy.²⁵⁷ The armies were already on the verge of joining battle when the matter reached the ears of the Caliph, to whom they accord honour equal to that of a divinity. He immediately cast aside grandeur and custom—for it is not permitted to him to go outside his own quarters—and made all haste to arrive at Rayy where he found the opposing forces about to commence battle. He stood between them and entreated them to remain at peace, as this was to the benefit of the Persians and their realm, and detrimental to the empire and authority of the Romans. After various arguments were deployed and expressed, his opinion finally prevailed that it would be to the common good that the sultan should reign over Persia, as had his father. Koutlounous' followers should receive a force and a helping hand from the sultan and make the land of the Romans their own and keep it as their realm and empire, so that the two sides would not threaten or disturb one another. On the

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257 κατὰ τὸν τόπον ὃς καλεῖται Πέ: cf. *Synopsis*, 453.5 (Wortley, 426), εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Πέ: the city of Rayy lies on the plateau in north central Iran.

καὶ διαιτῇσει τοῦ χαλιφᾶ διαλύεται μὲν ἡ μάχη καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἔρις ἀποδιοπομπεῖται, καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καταδουλοῦν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπῆρξαντο.

Τούτους οὖν προσεταιρισάμενος μετὰ στρατιάς ἀξιολόγου καὶ ἱκανῆς ἐπὶ συνθή-
καις ῥηταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συνεπήγετο, καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενος ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Νίκαιαν.
Πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ἐκάστοτε συνέρρεον πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ τὸ δὴ
παράδοξον, ὅτι οὐδὲ οἱ Τοῦρκοι αὐτῷ ἐμποδῶν καθίσταντο, προέπεμπον δὲ μᾶλλον σὺν
αἰδοῖ καὶ σεβάσματι. Καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐξαίρετον, ὅσον
τε ἐν ἄρχουσι καὶ ὅσον ἐν ἀστικοῖς καὶ δημοτικοῖς, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας
ἐκκριτον, κοινῇ συνελθόντες εἰς τὸν περίπυστον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου Σοφίας νεών,
ἄρτι τῶν τοῦ Εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς Θεομήτορος ἐπιβατηρίων ἐφισταμένων, ἀναγορεύ-
ουσι | τὸν Βοτανειάτην αὐτοκράτορα,

προεξάρχοντος τούτων τοῦ πατριάρχου Θεουπόλεως μεγάλης Ἀντιοχείας, τοῦ ὀνο-
μαζομένου Αἰμιλιανοῦ, καὶ τοῦ μητροπολίτου Ἰκονίου. Συννεύει τε πᾶς ὁ κλῆρος αὐτῷ
καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ ἡ πόλις σχεδὸν ἅπασα. Καὶ διαιρεθέντες κατὰ φατρίας οἱ τῆς
πολιτείας ἐπώνυμοι συνταγματάρχας τε προβάλλονται καὶ λόχους ἐπιφανεῖς συνε-
στήσαντο· κυριεύουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἐξ ἐφόδου καὶ στρατιώτας ἐφιστῶσι, τοὺς
τοῦ βασιλέως Μιχαὴλ ἐκδιώξαντες πολέμῳ τε τὸ μισθοφορικὸν καταγωνισάμενοι.
Καθαίρουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Μιχαὴλ, φυγόντα εἰς τὰ ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἀνάκτορα
σὺν τῇ αὐγούστη Μαρίᾳ τῇ ἐξ Ἀλανῶν καὶ τῷ τούτου παιδί Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ πορ-
φυρογεννήτῳ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν μονήρῳ μεταλλάττουσι βίον τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Στουδίου μετ'
εὐτελοῦς τοῦ ὑπόζυγιου παραπέμφαντες, μοναρχήσαντα χρόνους ἕξ πρὸς μηνὶν ἕξ, ἐν
αὐτῷ τῷ Σαββάτῳ καθ' ὃ ἡ ἐπὶ Λαζάρῳ θαυματουργία παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν ἐορτάζεται·
καὶ προΐστωσιν ἀρχὰς τὰς τε ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, δρουγγάριον τοῦ
στόλου προβαλλόμενοι.

258 This story does not appear in Attaleiates who instead has Koutloumous and his followers submit to Botaneiates and accept his protection, thus being assimilated into Byzantine service. Skylitzes (and Zonaras, condensing the story, xviii.18.4–9) represent Koutloumous' alliance with Botaneiates as a deflection of his ambitions away from the realms of the Seljuk sultan Malikshah. See Beihammer, *Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia*, 215–222, esp. 218–219. The loss of Anatolia, not as a result of Mantzikert but as the consequence of engaging military support from the Turks, is well laid out by Whittow, “The Second Fall,” 114–119; Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, 44–52; and Cheynet, “La résistance aux Turcs,” 144–147.

259 Observed on March 25; Botaneiates was therefore proclaimed on March 24 1078.

basis of this settlement and arbitration from the Caliph, the battle was called off, the army withdrew, all strife evaporated, and they began to subject the land of the Romans to themselves.²⁵⁸

37. And so Botaneiates, after bringing them over to his side along with a battleworthy army of some size, consolidated their alliance with him on set terms, and then set out on the march and headed for Nicaea. At every turn a throng from the Great City rushed out to join him. Strangely enough, the Turks did not impede him but sped him on his way with reverence and awe. The Queen of Cities and all the leading elements within it, those in high office and those in the urban districts and plebeian neighbourhoods, not to mention the eminent officials of the Great Church, all came as one to the far-famed Church of the Divine Wisdom, on the eve of the day of the Annunciation to the Mother of God,²⁵⁹ | and proclaimed Botaneiates emperor.

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38. Playing a leading role among these people was the Patriarch of Theoupolis the Great Antioch, whose name was Aimilianos,²⁶⁰ and the metropolitan of Ikonion. All the clergy and the Senate, and pretty much the whole city, joined with him. The influential citizens of the city split up into divisions and put commanders in charge and established clearly defined ranks. They seized the imperial residence by storm and placed soldiers to guard it after they scattered Michael's men and defeated his contingent of mercenaries in battle. They deposed the reigning emperor Michael who had fled to the Blachernai palace with the empress Maria of Alania and his son Constantine, born in the purple.²⁶¹ They made the man who had ruled for six years and six months convert to the monastic life once they had conveyed him to the Stoudios monastery on a humble beast of burden, on the same Sunday when the miracle performed on Lazarus is celebrated by the faithful. They also chose people to keep order on land, and at sea as well when they appointed a *droungarios* of the fleet.

260 Patriarch of Antioch from 1062 to 1079/80. For opposing Nikephoritzes' fiscal measures, he was expelled from Antioch in 1074, and so made his way to Constantinople where he intrigued against his enemy. He appears to have been in league with Philaretos Brachamios and cut from the same cloth as Michael Keroularios. Bryennios describes him as "a crafty, energetic man, willing and able like no other to foment unrest among the citizenry": *Histoire*, 200–204, 238, 242–244; see also Todt, "Patriarchat von Antiocheia," 260–261; Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 80–81 (no. 100).

261 Maria was a Georgian princess brought to the capital to marry Michael Doukas sometime between 1066 and 1071. On her life at court and her manoeuvrings to protect the interests of her son, see Mullett, "'Disgrace' of the ex-Basilissa Maria", and Garland and Rapp, "Mary 'of Alania'". On Constantine Doukas, born in 1074 and for a time co-emperor and heir apparent under Alexios Komnenos through his betrothal to the emperor's daughter Anna, see Polemis, *Doukai*, 61–63.

179 Οὕτω δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πραγμάτων φερομένων παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν τοῦ τε βασιλέως καθαιρεθέντος ὁ Βοτανειάτης πεποιθὼς ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον, ἀναίμακτον ὥσπερ ἀπολαμβάνων τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς μάχας καὶ πολέμους διεσκευάζετο καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὸν συνεκρότει στρατιωτικόν. Ὁ δὲ λογοθέτης Νικηφόρος καὶ ὁ τούτου ὁμοιότροπος Δαβὶδ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐξώρμησαν, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸν Ῥουσέλιον ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ αὐλιζόμενον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῆς τῶν ἀντιπάλων νίκης τῷ Θεῷ χαριστήρια θύοντα. Οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις τὰ ἀνάκτορα ἄτερ βασιλέως συντηρήσαντες, | γράμμασι τὸν Βοτανειάτην διαναστήναι καὶ ἐλθεῖν ταχινώτερον ἐπέσπευδον. Σπουδῇ δὲ εἰς Πραίνετον ἀφικόμενος, ἓνα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἄνδρα γενναῖον καὶ δραστήριον ἀποστείλας, Βορίλον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον, κρατεῖ τὰ ἀνάκτορα. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς εἴσεισι κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν Μεγάλην Τρίτην καὶ ταῖς τοῦ πατριάρχου χερσὶ τῷ βασιλικῷ ταινιοῦται διαδήματι. Φιλοτιμησάμενος δὲ πάντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ἓν τε δώροις καὶ κτήμασι καὶ ἀξιώμασι, καὶ τοὺς Τούρκους δὲ ἐσκηνωμένους κατὰ τὴν Χρυσόπολιν φιλοφρονησάμενος, τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων τῆς βασιλείας ἐφήψατο. Πάσας δὲ τὰς δημοσιακὰς ὀφειλάς ῥιζόθεν ἀπέτεμεν οὐ μετὰ προσδιορισμοῦ, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην πάντων τῶν χρόνων ὁμοῦ, ὥς μὴδ' ὄνομα τούτων ἢ μνήμην εὐρίσκεσθαι.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Βρυέννιος ἐκτὸς ὦν τὰ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἐκύκα καὶ συνεκλόνει, στέλλεται πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβεία βασιλικὴ ἀπαγγέλλουσα μεταθέσθαι μὲν τὴν ἄλογον ὄρεξιν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ καίσαρος λαβόντα τύχην στήσαι τὴν ἔφεσιν. Ἐπεκύρου δὲ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς τοῖς



FIGURE 22 Seal of the emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates.

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VII The Accession of Nikephoros III Botaneiates

1. This was how matters stood in the City. Against all expectation the emperor had been deposed and Botaneiates was confidently advancing to Byzantium to take charge of the empire without bloodshed, even though he had been making preparations for battles and wars and had assembled an army under his command. The *logothetes* Nikephoros and his partner in crime David rushed off to the west and reached Rouselios who was encamped at Herakleia and giving thanks to God for his victory over his opponents. After keeping watch over the palace for three days without an emperor, | the citizens sent messages to Botaneiates urging him to pick up the pace and come more quickly. After arriving in some haste at Prainetos, he sent one of his retinue on ahead, Borilos,²⁶² a brave and capable man who was his slave, and took control of the palace. Shortly afterwards he himself entered on Holy Tuesday and received the crown from the hands of the Patriarch.²⁶³ He showered his generosity on all his followers with gifts, possessions, and dignities and, after showing favour to the Turks encamped at Chrysopolis, he came to grips with the other affairs of state. He forgave all debts to the public treasury, not with any restrictions or qualifications but collectively and for all time, so that neither their name nor any record of them could be found.

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2. Since Bryennios remained outside the city, inflicting misery and troubles on the regions to the west, an imperial embassy was sent to him with the request that he set aside his unreasonable ambition and give up his attempt in return for the position of *kaisar*. The emperor even confirmed the ranks

²⁶² Borilos will have been of Slavic origin. Although he and his fellow slave Germanos (below, VII.14) antagonised many, Borilos' loyalty and ability were rewarded by Botaneiates with the title of *protoproedros* and the office of *ethnarches* or *primikerios* of the *ethnikoi*, in other words, commander of foreign contingents stationed in the palace. The two slaves were to be jealous adversaries of Alexios and Isaac Komnenos during the reign of Botaneiates: *Alexiad.*, II.1.3; 4.3–4; 12.4 (Sewter-Frankopan, 50–51, 56–57).

²⁶³ March 27 1078. The chronology of Botaneiates' acclamation and coronation is not fully coherent.

αὐτῷ συναποστατήσασιν. Ὁ δὲ ἄτεγκτος ἦν καὶ ἀτεράμων καὶ ὑπερήφανος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας μὴ ἐξιστάμενος μηδὲ τῶν πρωτείων παραχωρῶν, ὧν οὐκ ἦν κύριος. Στέλλεται καὶ δευτέρα πρεσβεία πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ γέγονεν ἄπρακτος. Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τρίτῃ πρεσβείᾳ φοιτᾷ, σταλέντος Ῥωμανοῦ πρωτοπροέδρου καὶ μεγάλου ἐταιριάρχου, τοῦ Στραβορωμανοῦ. Οὐδὲ ἀκείνην οὖν δέχεται, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀτίμως προσήκατο καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ἐκ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐξ ὑποστρατήγου τινὸς ἀποσταλέντα· καίτοι ἱερὸν εἶναι σῶμα ὁ πρέσβυς λελόγισται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις αὐτοῖς, ὥς εἰρήνης μεσίτης καὶ τῶν μαχομένων διαλλακτῆς καὶ πολεμικὰς περιστάσεις ἀποσοβῶν.

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Ἔπεςε δὲ τηνικαῦτα αὐτομάτως ἡ τοῦ | Βρυεννίου σκηνή, τοῦ ὁρόφου ταύτης παραλυθέντος ἀοράτοις χερσί. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἔκλειψις τῆς σελήνης, ἥτις εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέσκηψεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πεφύκασιν ὥς ἐπίπαν τὰ τοιαῦτα τυραννούντων καθαίρεσιν δηλοῦν, καθὼς οἱ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστέρων ἀδόλεσχον ματαιότητα διαγιγνόμενοι τερατεύονται.

Ἐπανελθόντος οὖν τοῦ Στραβορωμανοῦ καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀπράκτου μεινάσης ἔργων πολεμικῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἵχετο καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν συνετάττετο στράτευμα καὶ θαρσῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ κατάλυσιν προηγόρευε· τὸ γὰρ ἄδόμενον στοιχεῖον τοῦ Ν ἀπλοῦν μόνον καὶ οὐ διπλοῦν τοῖς ταῦτα σκοποῦσιν ἐφοιβάζετο. Καὶ δὴ στρατηγὸν ἐπιστήσας ἓνα τῶν εὐπατριδῶν, τὸν νωβελίσσιμον Ἀλέξιον τὸν Κομνηνὸν μέγαν αὐτὸν δομέστικον προβαλλόμενος, ὃς τὸν Ῥουσέλιον τὸ πρὶν εὐμηχάνως ἐχειρώσατο, κατὰ τοῦ Βρυεννίου ἀφίησι, φρονήσει καὶ διανοίᾳ σταθιρότητι γεραρὸν καὶ πρὸς μάχας καὶ κινδύνους πολεμικοὺς ἐδραῖόν τε καὶ ἀπερικτύπητον. Ὅς δὴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀνειληφῶς κατὰ τοῦ Βρυεννίου ἐβάδιζε, καὶ πρὸς τόπον Καλαβρῦν ἐπονομαζόμενον διαναπαύων τὸν στρατὸν ἔμαθε παρὰ τῶν σκοπῶν ὡς ὁ Βρυέννιος ἐγγίζει πανστρατιᾷ τῆς Μεσσηνίας ἀπαναστάς. Καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ νωβελίσσιμος Τούρκους τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀπολεξάμενος ἀφικέσθαι μὲν ἄχρι τοῦ Βρυεννίου ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπίδειξιν δὲ πολέμου ποιησαμένους μόνην πάλιν ἐπαναστρέψαι πρὸς αὐτόν. Αὐτὸς δὲ λόχους ἐν ἐπικαίροις θέμενος καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς ἄριστον ἐδόκει, διαταξάμενος ἔμενε τὴν τοῦ Βρυεννίου ἐπέλευσιν. Φανέντων δὲ τῶν σημείων τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀμφοῖν καὶ ἀλαλαξάντων ἑκατέρων τὸ ἐνυάλιον πόλεμος συνέστη καρτερός. Ὡς δὲ ἑώρα ὁ Βρυέννιος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ταγμάτων τὴν ἦτταν καὶ τὸ τεθορυβημένον καὶ σφαλερόν, τὰς κρατίστας τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμεων συνηλικῶς αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἀγῶνα ἐκρότησεν. Ἀπεκρούσαντο δὲ τὴν τούτου ὁρμὴν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως. Φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων περὶ τῆς νίκης καταπληκτικὴ τις καὶ φόβου πλήρης | ἡ μάχη γέγονεν. Ὁ δὲ Κομνηνὸς σύνθημα δοὺς τοῖς ἐν τοῖς λόχοις διαναστῆναι καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις μεθ' ὁρμῆς βιαίᾳ εἰσβαλεῖν τρο-

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264 Bryennios gives a very detailed account of this embassy: *Histoire*, 258–264.

265 Seemingly a reference to the prophecy mentioned above that N would surpass M. As both

given to the men who had rebelled with him. But he was persistent, intractable, and haughty, and he did not renounce the imperial rulership, nor would he defer to a government whose master he was not. A second embassy to him also proved fruitless. In succession a third embassy went forth under the *protoproedros* and *megas hetaireiarches* Romanos Straboromanos.²⁶⁴ Bryennios did not accept this one either. Instead, he treated the man dishonourably, as if he had been sent not by an emperor but by some underling or other, notwithstanding that even among non-Christian peoples themselves the ambassador is considered a sacred person, an intermediary for peace, a conciliator between warring parties, and someone who allays crises leading to war. At that time Bryennios' tent collapsed | by itself when its roof was loosened by unseen hands. There was 180 also an eclipse of the moon, which drew attention to him, since for the most part these sorts of phenomena tend to reveal the downfall of rebels, as those versed in foolish prattle about the stars speculated.

3. When Straboromanos returned with his embassy with nothing to show for it, the emperor occupied himself with military tasks and marshalled an army against Bryennios, confidently predicting his defeat. That the letter N sung in verses was single only, not double, was also a sign to those who looked into these matters.²⁶⁵ He appointed one of the nobility, Alexios Komnenos, as *strategos*, whom he had elevated to *nobelissimos* and *megas domestikos*, and who had adroitly apprehended Rouselios on a previous occasion. The emperor sent him against Bryennios since he was distinguished for his intellect and his steadiness of thought, and for being steadfast and imperturbable in battle amidst the perils of war. Taking command of his forces he set out against Bryennios. While resting his army at a place called Kalabrye, he learned from his scouts that Bryennios, having set out from Mesene, was approaching in full strength. Right away the *nobelissimos* chose some of his Turkish soldiers and ordered them to close up to Bryennios and, after making a show of battle only, to make their way back to him once again. After setting ambushes in advantageous locations and disposing his army as he deemed best, he awaited the onset of Bryennios. The standards of both armies appeared, both sides raised the battle cry, and a fierce battle was joined. When Bryennios saw the defeat of his regiments, their confusion and vulnerability, he in person committed his strongest forces to the contest to win or lose it all. The emperor's soldiers withstood this attack. With both sides striving for victory, a horrendous battle full of terror ensued. | Komnenos gave the signal to the soldiers waiting in ambush to come out and fall 181 upon the enemy with a violent charge, and they achieved a complete rout of

contenders were named Nikephoros, it appears to have been extended to the single N in Botaneiates as opposed to the double N in Bryennios.

πήν τῶν τοῦ Βρυεννίου εἰργάσαντο καρτεράν. Ἐάλω μὲν οὖν ὁ Βρυέννιος ζῶν, ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ συχνοὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐάλωσαν δὲ οὐχ ἥττους καὶ μάλλον οἱ τῶν ἄλλων προέχοντες. Ὁ δὲ Βρυέννιος ληφθεὶς τῆς τοσαύτης ἀπονοίας πρόστιμον τὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑφίσταται πῆρῳσιν, πολλὰ μετακλαυσάμενος τῆς δυσβουλίας ἑαυτόν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀγγελίαν δεξάμενος τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ Μητρὶ τὰς εὐχαριστίας ἀνέθετο.

Ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ παρὰ τῶν Βαράγγων. Τοῦ γὰρ Βρυεννίου ἀποστατήσαντος καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς Βαράγγων ὁμοφρονησάντων αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ Βάραγγοι ἕνα τινὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιλεξάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοέθνους ἀποστέλλουσιν, ἀξιοῦντες ἀφεῖναι μὲν τὸν ἀποστάτην, φρονῆσαι δὲ τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. Γνωσθεὶς δὲ καὶ κρατηθεὶς ἐτασθεὶς τε σφοδρῶς πᾶσαν ἀνεκάλυψε τῶν μηνυθέντων τὴν δῆλῳσιν, στερεῖται δὲ καὶ τῆς ῥινόσ, παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ταύτην λωβηθεὶς. Ὅθεν καὶ μὴ πράως ἐνεγκὼν τὴν ὕβριν ἣν πέπονθεν ὁ βάρβαρος, ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐξιόντα τοῦ παλατίου, μαχαίραις ἐθνικαῖς κατακόψας αὐτόν. Ἐπανέστησαν δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ οἱ Βάραγγοι καὶ διαχειρίσασθαι αὐτόν ἔσπευδον. Ἀντιταξαμένων δὲ τούτοις τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ἰκετείας ἐτρέποντο καὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐξιλεωσάμενοι συγγνώμης ἔτυχον.

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ τελευτησάσης τῆς Βεβδηνῆς, ἅμα τῇ ἀναρρήσει ἀναγορευθείσης καὶ αὐτῆς, ἐτέραν ἡγάγετο. Πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐμνηστεύοντο, Ζωὴ τε γὰρ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Δούκα θυγάτηρ, παρθένος οὖσα καὶ τῷ εἶδει



FIGURE 23 Seal of John Bryennios, *vestes* (before 1077). This seal, with an image of John the Baptist on the obverse, contains a metrical verse identifying the owner and his title. It will have been struck some time before Bryennios was promoted by his brother, the rebel Nikephoros Bryennios, to the title of *kouropalates* and the rank of Domestic of the Schools in 1077.

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Bryennios' men. Bryennios was captured alive, a great many of his men fell, no fewer were taken prisoner, especially men of higher rank than the rest. The captive Bryennios suffered the loss of his eyes as punishment for such madness after greatly reproaching himself for his ill-conceived plan.²⁶⁶ Upon receiving the tidings, the emperor offered up prayers of thanks to God and to His Mother.

4. Bryennios' brother was killed in Byzantium by the Varangians. When Bryennios rebelled and the Varangians outside the City sided with him, the Varangians in the palace picked one of their comrades and sent him to his fellow countrymen in an effort to persuade them to abandon the rebel and support the emperor's cause. After being discovered and seized, the man was subjected to a brutal interrogation and revealed everything that had been disclosed to him. He had his nose cut off, suffering this outrage at John's hands.²⁶⁷ The barbarian did not meekly accept the indignity inflicted upon him, but murdered John as he was going out of the palace, slashing him with the knives which those people carry. The Varangians rose up against the emperor and tried to get their hands on him, but when the emperor's soldiers deployed for battle against them, they turned to supplication and after making their peace with the emperor they received his pardon.

5. As his wife Vevdene died just at the time when she herself had been acclaimed as empress, the emperor took another wife. There were many candidates for his hand, one being Zoe, the daughter of the emperor Doukas, a

266 Bryennios, *Histoire*, 264–282, gives a florid account of this battle, which in his words “would have needed a second *Iliad*” to do it justice. He blames Borilos for the blinding of Bryennios. Thus both he and Anna Komnene make a point of absolving Alexios of the responsibility for this cruel treatment: “my father was not to blame,” insists Anna. In other words, he was no Andronikos Doukas; cf. *Alexiad* 1.6.9 (Sewter-Frankopan, 15–24).

267 This goes back to the beginning of Nikephoros Bryennios the Elder's revolt (above, vi.29). In Bryennios' telling, the Varangian (identified as an “axe-bearer”) had been sent by Nikephoritzes to kill John Bryennios in Adrianople. He had too much to drink at the local inn, however, and his drunken declaration of his plan led to his arrest and torture: *Histoire*, 216–218.

182 εὐπρεπής, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θυγατέρες πολλαὶ ὥραν ἔχουσαι γάμου. Ὁ δὲ μίαν ἡρεῖτο τῶν δύο, ἢ τὴν τοῦ Δούκα σύζυγον καὶ αὖθις τοῦ Διογένους Εὐδοκίαν ἢ τὴν τοῦ ἑναγχοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Μιχαὴλ Μαρίαν τὴν ἐξ Ἀλανῶν. Στέλλει γοῦν | τὴν Εὐδοκίαν ληψόμενος, ἢ δὲ ἡκολούθει περιχαρῶς. "Ὅπερ γνοὺς ὁ τηνικαῦτα ἐπ' ἀρετῇ διαβόητος μοναχός, ὃν δὴ καὶ Πανάρετον ἀντ' ἄλλου παντὸς ἐκάλουν ὀνόματος, παντὶ τρόπῳ διακωλύσαι ἐσπούδασε τὸ ἀτόπημα, πολλῶν ὑπομνήσας αὐτὴν τῶν δυναμένων παραλῦσαι τῆς προθυμίας. Ἀγεται τοίνυν τὴν Μαρίαν ἀπηρυθριασμένως ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερολογεῖται αὐτῇ, καὶ παραυτίκα καθαιρεῖται ὁ ἱερεὺς ὡς προφανῶς μοιχείας τετελεσμένης. Ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ τὴν τρίχα κειράμενος, ψήφῳ τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ τῶν μητροπολιτῶν χειροτονεῖται Ἐφέσου ἀρχιερεὺς. Ἀπαξ μέντοι ἐν ἐκείνῃ ἐφοίτησε, καὶ ὑποστρέψας ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Μανουὴλ μονῇ, χερσὶν ἰδίαις ἐργαζόμενος. Ἐτιμήθη δὲ διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσαντος Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύζυγον Μαρίαν, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βοτανειάτου καθαιρέσιν μοναχὴν γεγεννημένην, συμπαθείας τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπταισμένων καταξίωσας ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ.

Ὁ δὲ πρωτοπρόεδρος Νικηφόρος ὁ Βασιλάκιος τὸ Δυρράχιον καταλαβὼν στρατὸν ἡθροίζειν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖσε χωρῶν, μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ Φράγκους ἐξ Ἰταλίας, διὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Διαβόλεως Θεοδοσίου φιλοτίμοις ταῖς δεξιῶσεσι, κατὰ τοῦ Βρυεννίου συσκευαζόμενος. Συναγγοῦς δὲ στρατιάν ἀξιόλογον ἔκ τε Φράγκων καὶ Βαράγγων, Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Βουλγάρων καὶ Ἀρβανιτῶν, ἄρας ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς Θεσσαλονικὴν ἡπείγετο. Ἀφигμένος δὲ εἰς Ἀχρίδα ἡβούλετο μὲν ἐκεῖσε ἀναγορευθῆναι, σπουδῇ δὲ τοῦ ἐκεῖσε ἀρχιερατεύοντος ἐκωλύθη. Ἐν δὲ Θεσσαλονικῇ γενόμενος ἐπληροφόρηθη τὴν τοῦ Βοτανειάτου ἀναγόρευσιν καὶ δουρικὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε γράμματα, ἐν τῷ λεληθότι δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀνταρσίας διεπράττετο συνεργὸν ἔχων πρὸς τοῦτο τὸν τε λεγόμενον Γυμνὸν καὶ Γρηγόριον τὸν Μεσημέριον καὶ τὸν Τεσσαρακοντάπηχυν. Προσκα-

268 The Greek name *Panaretos* means "possessor of all virtues."

269 There was still the matter of the oath she had sworn to her first husband, Constantine x Doukas; she had spent the last seven years as a nun; and it was a further complication that third marriages were uncanonical when there were children surviving from either of the first two.

270 It was long established in Byzantine law that one could divorce one's spouse to enter a monastery; in such a *bona gratia* divorce the remaining spouse was free to remarry. In this case, however, the marriage was considered adulterous because Maria's former husband Michael had been forced to become a monk (above, vi.38), which voided the *bona gratia* provision. On Skylitzes' views regarding this union (which Attaleiates, tellingly, ignores), see Laiou, "Imperial marriages," 172–176.

271 Michael died in or about the year 1090. This would appear to be a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Continuation*.

272 Skylitzes is not the only chronicler to add this touching detail. According to Zonaras (xviii.19.15), years after Botaneiates' deposition, Maria (who had since become a nun) came to Michael's deathbed to seek his forgiveness: "Michael granted his forgiveness to her as he lay dying and asked God to have mercy on her."

young woman and comely to behold, but many of the daughters of the Senatorial order were also of marriageable age. Botaneiates' choice came down to one of two women, either Eudokia, the wife of Doukas who had then married Diogenes, or Maria of Alania, wife of the recent sovereign Michael. He sent word that he would choose Eudokia, | who gladly accepted. But when the monk, the one they called Panaretos instead of any other name, who was famous at that time for his virtue,²⁶⁸ learned of this, he endeavoured in every way to prevent this fiasco, reminding her of the many factors that could keep her from achieving her desire.²⁶⁹ Therefore the emperor shamelessly took Maria as his wife and was joined to her in a holy ceremony. The priest was immediately removed since it was plain that adultery had been committed.²⁷⁰ Michael, who had been tonsured, was appointed metropolitan of Ephesos with the assent of the Patriarch and the metropolitans. He journeyed there only once, however, and upon his return stayed in the monastery of Manuel where he toiled in manual labour. He was subsequently treated with marked respect during the reign of Alexios Komnenos, in the course of which he died.²⁷¹ At his death he granted his wife Maria, who had become a nun after the deposition of Botaneiates, forgiveness for the wrongs done to him.²⁷²

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6. Upon arriving at Dyrrachion the *protoproedros* Nikephoros Basilakes gathered an army from all the surrounding regions, and through the bishop of Diabolis, Theodore, he summoned Franks from Italy with promises of gifts, and he made ready to march against Bryennios.²⁷³ After assembling a battleworthy army of Franks and Varangians, Romans, as well as Bulgarians and Albanians, he set off from there and made for Thessalonike. When he reached Ohrid he wished to be acclaimed there, but was prevented by strong opposition from the archbishop. At Thessalonike he was informed of Botaneiates' acclamation and sent letters declaring his submission to him, but in secret he was making arrangements for a rebellion. He had the men named Gymnos, Gregory Mesemerios, and Tessarakontapechys to help him in this.²⁷⁴ He also invited the

273 Basilakes (or Basilakios), previously attested as *doux* of Theodosiupolis (above, v.10), began his rebellion in the summer of 1078: see Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 86–87 (no. 108), 352.

274 All three families were rooted in the western part of the empire; the Gymnoi in the region of Thessalonike, the Mesemerioi (also Mesimerioi) in Italy. Tessarakontapechys, from a family originating in Athens, will have been one of the three members attested at this time, one as the monk Leontios, the other two as officials: John, *protospatharios* and *epi tou Chrysotriklinou*, and Michael, *proedros* and *logariastes*; see Cheynet, "L'aristocratie byzantine," 459–460, 474; *Pouvoir et contestations*, 231–232, 236, 352.

183 λείται δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πατζινάκους εἰς συμμαχίαν. Ὁ βασιλεὺς δ' ὥς ἔγνω τὸν τούτου σκοπὸν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν, χρυσοβούλλῃ γραφῇ τὸ ἀμέριμνον αὐτῷ περιποιησάμενος, τινὰ τῶν οἰκείων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξαπέστειλε, παντὸς μὲν ἀπολῶν δέους αὐτὸν καὶ νωβελιστίμου βραβεύων ἀξίωμα. Ὁ δὲ τὰς ἐν χερσὶν εὐεργεσίας περιφρονήσας ἀνόνητα μετεκλαύσατο ὕστερον. Διὸ καὶ στέλλεται κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ νωβελίσσιμος Ἀλέξιος, τιμηθεὶς σεβαστός, μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἀξιολόγου καὶ ἱκανῆς. Φρουρὰν οὖν ἐν τῷ Περιθεωρίῳ τοῦ Βασιλακίου καταλαβὼν, στρατηγὸν ἔχουσαν τὸν Γυμνόν, πολέμῳ ταύτην ἀνήρπασε. Προβιβάζων δὲ τὴν στρατιάν μέχρι Θεσσαλονίκης ἀπαθὴς διεσώθη κακῶν. Ἐκ τινος δὲ διαστήματος τὸν χάρακα θεί, πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Βαρδαρίου, ἐκείσε τὸν στρατὸν διαναπαῦσαι ἐσκόπησεν. Ὁ δὲ Βασιλάκιος τὴν νίκην κλέψαι ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐσκέψατο νυκτίλοχος ἐπιτεσεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτον κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν καὶ ἀπωλεῖα παραδοῦναι παντελεῖ. Τοῦ δὲ Γεμιστοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καταμηνύσαντος τῷ σεβαστῷ ἐφυλάξατο ταύτην αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτόν. Ἐλάσας τοῖνυν ὁ Βασιλάκιος δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπροόπτως τῷ δοκεῖν καὶ ἀδιαγνώστως πολέμῳ χαλεπῷ περιέπεσε. Κατὰ κράτος οὖν ἡττηθεὶς καὶ τῶν οἰκείων πλείστους ἀποβαλὼν, καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν Φράγκων, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ δομεστικῷ ἀντιταχθεὶς καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ καταπονηθεὶς εἰς τὴν τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἀκρόπολιν καταπέφυγεν, οἶόμενος τῷ ὀχυρώματι ἀποσοβῆσαι τὴν τοῦ σεβαστοῦ ἐπέλευσιν. Ὁ δὲ σεβαστὸς μηδὲν μελλήσας τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῦ φρουρίου τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν προετρέψατο διὰ τάχους ποιήσασθαι· οἱ καὶ ἐνεργοὺς τὰς προσβολὰς ποιησάμενοι, τῶν Θεσσαλονικέων συμφρονησάντων αὐτοῖς, ταχὺ τούτου περιγίνονται καὶ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκυρίευσαν. Ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ σιδηροῖς ἐμβάλλεται δεσμοῖς καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀποστέλλεται δέσμιος. Τῆς δ' ἀγγελίας καταλαβούσης τὸν βασιλέα προστάζει αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύττεται ἔγγιστα τῆς Χριστουπόλεως, καὶ ἔκτοτε ὁ τόπος ὠνόμασται ἡ βρύσις τοῦ Βασιλακίου. Τούτου δὲ γενομένου ἤχθη ἐφ' ἀμάξης φόρτος ἐλεεινὸς καὶ δυστυχὲς καταγῶγιον.

184 Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸν Βασιλάκιον ἡσυχολοῦντο ἐκστρατεῖαν, Πατζινάκοι ἀναμιξὶ Κομάνοις τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει ἐπῆλθον, ὀργιζόμενοι κατὰ τοῦ Βρυεννίου διὰ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀναιρεθῆναι τινὰς αὐτῶν. Πυρὰν οὖν ὑφάψαντες πολλὰ τῶν ἐκείσε οἰκημάτων κατέπρησαν καὶ μηδὲν ἄξιον λόγου πεπραχότες ὑπέστρεψαν.

Ὡμολόγησε δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει καὶ Φιλάρετος κουροπαλάτης ὁ Βραχάμιος πίστιν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ δούλωσιν. Ἐν τισὶ γὰρ τόποις ὀχυροῖς, τείχεσι καὶ ξυναγκείαις περιειλημμένοις, τὴν οἴκησιν ποιούμενος, Ἀρμενίων τε πληθύν καὶ συγκλῦδων ἀνδρῶν

275 On Basilakes' rebellion and fate, see Bryennios, *Histoire*, 284–296; Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 1.9.5 (Sewter-Frankopan, 23–29); both refer to the “fountain of Basilakes,” and here

Patzinaks to ally with him. When the emperor learned of his aim and purpose, he offered an amnesty to him in a chrysobull, | and sent one of his associates 183 to him, releasing him from all fear of retribution and bestowing upon him the dignity of *nobelissimos*. Basilakes rejected the benefactions laid in his hands, only to bewail his folly afterwards. As a result, the *nobelissimos* Alexios, having been promoted to *sebastos*, was sent out with a strong and battleworthy force. Coming upon Basilakes' garrison in Peritheorion, which was under the command of Gymnos, he overwhelmed it in battle. He came through unscathed as he led his army to Thessalonike. After setting his encampment at some distance away, beyond the river named the Vardarios, he sought to rest his army there. In an attempt to steal victory, Basilakes planned to fall upon him in a night attack, to catch him in a mighty assault, and to consign him to utter destruction. But after Gemistos informed the *sebastos* of the plan, he and his retinue had their guard up against it. And so after marching all night, seemingly unexpectedly and without being detected, Basilakes became embroiled in a fierce battle. Soundly defeated with the loss of many of his men, especially among the Franks, and after confronting the *domestikos* in combat and being worsted by him, Basilakes fled to the citadel of Thessalonike, thinking that with the aid of its fortifications he would be able to resist the advance of the *sebastos*. But the *sebastos* would brook no delay in capturing the stronghold and exhorted his men to do so with all haste. After making vigorous attacks with support from the citizens of Thessalonike they quickly overcame the garrison and took possession of the citadel. Basilakes himself was captured, bound in iron fetters, and sent off to the emperor as a prisoner. When the report reached the emperor, he ordered that his eyes be gouged out, very close to Chrysopolis, at a place known ever afterwards as "the fountain of Basilakes." After this took place, he was carried on a wagon, a pitiful burden and a wretched load.²⁷⁵

7. At the same time, while the armies were occupied with the campaign 184 against Basilakes, the Patzinaks, with some Cumans mixed in, advanced on Adrianople, enraged at Bryennios because he had killed a number of them. By setting a fire they burned down many of the local dwellings, and after accomplishing nothing of note they returned home.

8. In that same year the *kouropalates* Philaretos Brachamios professed his loyalty and submission to the emperor. Making his home in remote fastnesses surrounded by walls and glens, he collected a multitude of Armenians and men of various backgrounds. He had refused to submit to the previous emperor

again both take pains to absolve Alexios of any responsibility for the blinding of the defeated rebel.

συλλεξάμενος τῷ μὲν προβεβασилευκῷ Μιχαήλ ἀκαταδούλωτος ἦν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐπικράτειαν ἑαυτῷ οἰκειούμενος, τοῦ δὲ Βοτανειάτου περιζωσαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας δούλος αὐτεπάγγελτος γέγονε.

Λέκας δὲ τις ἀπὸ Παυλικιάνων Φιλιππουπόλεως ὠρμημένος ἐξ ἐπιγαμβρείας ἠυτομόλησε τοῖς Πατζινάκοις καὶ τούτοις συμφρονῶν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἡπείλει τὰ φοβερώτατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δοβρομηρός τις τὰ ἐν Μεσημβρίᾳ διακυκῶν. Καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀντάραι μελετώντες, δείσαντες καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων σωφρονισθέντες κακοῖς, πρὸ τῆς πείρας δουλικῷ ζυγῷ τοὺς αὐχένας ὑπέκλιναν καὶ προσήλθον ἰκέται αὐτόμολοι. Τότε δὴ ὁ Λέκας τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Σαρδικῆς Μιχαήλ, τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως φρονούντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν παραινούντα, ἀνείλε τὴν θείαν καὶ ἱερατικὴν στολὴν ἀμπεχόμενον.

Ἦξίωσε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν πρὸ τοῦ αὐγούσταν Εὐδοκίαν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῆς προνοίας τε μεγάλης καὶ τιμῆς, καὶ τριῶν σεκρέτων κυρίαν ἀπέδειξεν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Βρυέννιον καὶ τὸν Βασιλάκιον προνοίας ἐνδεχομένης ἤξισεν.

185 Ἄρτι δὲ τῶν Τούρκων τὴν ἑῶαν κατατρεχόντων στρατὸν ἀξιό|χρεων συνηλικῶς στρατηγὸν αὐτῷ ἐφίστησι Κωνστάντιον, τὸν υἱὸν Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Δούκα. Καὶ αὐτίκα διαπεράσας νεωτερίζει κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ βασιλεὺς παραυτίκα ἀναγορεύεται παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Χρυσοπόλει συνόντος αὐτῷ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους. Ἀξιώσας δὲ περὶ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μὴ εἰσακουσθεῖς, τοὺς μὲν δώροις καὶ ἀξιώμασι μελιξάμενος, ἄλλους δὲ ἄλλον τρόπον μεταχειρισάμενος λαμβάνει τοῦτον ἀναιμωτί, αὐτῶν τῶν



FIGURE 24 Seal of Alexios Komnenos, *sebastos* and Domestic of the West (1078–1081). The *Continuation* traces the rise of Alexios Komnenos, identifying him successively as *proedros*, *strategos*, *nobelissimos*, grand Domestic, and *sebastos*, and thus illustrating his suitability for the highest office of all.

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Michael and appropriated imperial power for himself, but when Botaneiates was invested with imperial authority, Brachamios voluntarily became his servant.²⁷⁶

9. A certain Lekas, one of the Paulicians from Philippopolis, defected to the Patzinaks, prompted by his marriage connection to them,²⁷⁷ and in league with them posed the most terrible threat to the land of the Romans, whereas a certain Dobromiros was wreaking havoc in Mesembria. Each considered rising in rebellion against the emperor, but feared to do so once they reflected on the bad ends others had come to. They bent their necks to the yoke of obedience before making any such attempt and came as suppliant defectors. It was during this time that Lekas killed the bishop of Serdica, Michael, even as he was wearing his sacred and holy vestments, since he supported the emperor and was advising the city to do the same.

10. The emperor saw to the welfare of the previous empress Eudokia and her children and accorded them great honour, and he appointed her the mistress of three state bureaux. Furthermore, he made suitable provision for Bryennios and Basilakes.

11. Since the Turks had of late been rampaging through the east, | he assembled a good-sized army and placed Konstantios,²⁷⁸ the son of Constantine Doukas, in command. The moment he crossed over the strait, he revolted against the emperor and immediately had himself proclaimed emperor by the crowd of soldiers present with him in Chrysopolis. The emperor called for his arrest and when he was not heeded, he placated some with gifts and dignities, dealt with others in different ways, and took custody of the man without blood-

276 From 1072 to 1078, in defiance of Michael VII's authority, Brachamios had held sway in the regions around Antioch and Edessa with an army composed of Byzantine, Armenian, Georgian, and Frankish contingents. In return for his loyalty to Nikephoros III Botaneiates, he received a series of titles and was appointed *doux* of Antioch. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 82 (no. 103), 298, 398–399.

277 The text reads ὡρμημένος ἐξ ἐπιγαμβρείας, but the corresponding passage in Attaleiates, Ῥωμαῖος ὃν γὰρ ἐξ ἐπιγαμβρείας, suggests that the text may be deficient or corrupt here. The point is that Lekas should be identified as a member of the Paulician sect (perhaps of Albanian origin) connected to the Patzinaks by marriage. On his attempt to exploit the turmoil among the Byzantine armies to carve out an independent region, see Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 85 (no. 106), 392.

278 Mentioned above as the youngest son of Constantine X Doukas (section 11.12), born while his father was emperor.

ἀναγορευσάντων προδόντων αὐτόν, καὶ ἀποκείρει μοναχὸν καὶ εἰς τινα νήσον περιορίζει. Λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ εἰς πρεσβυτέρου ἀνήχθη βαθμόν.

Ἰοκτωβρίῳ δὲ μηνί, ἰνδικτιῶνος γ', κεραυνὸς ἐνσκήψας ἐν τῷ τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου κίονι, οὗ ἄνωθεν ἡ στήλη αὐτοῦ ἴστατο—Ἀπόλλωνος οὔσα ἀφίδρυμα πρότερον, εἰς ὄνομα δὲ αὐτοῦ μετονομασθεῖσα—μέρος τε τούτου διέτεμε καὶ ζωστήρας τρεῖς, σιδηροὺς μὲν τὰ ἔνδον, τὰ δὲ ἔξω χαλκοῦς, κατέκαυσε.

Τοῦ δὲ ἀρχιερέως τῆς Βουλγαρίας Ἰωάννου τελευτήσαντος ἐν τῇ τοῦ Βασιλακίου διόδῳ ἕτερον ἄντ' αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς προεβάλετο, Ἰωάννην καὶ αὐτὸν καλούμενον, Ἄοιον δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον διὰ τὸ μηδὲν μετέχειν αὐτὸν οἶνου. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀντιοχείας κοιμηθέντος προεβάλετο ὁ βασιλεὺς τινα Νικηφόρον, Μαῦρον τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν φέροντα. Σκοπίων δὲ δοῦξ προεβλήθη Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Καβάσιλας. Λέων δὲ ὁ Διαβατηνὸς εἰς Μεσημβρίαν ἀποσταλὲς τὰ ἐκέισε ἦν διοικῶν καὶ μετὰ τῶν Πατζινάκων καὶ τῶν Κομάνων συμβιβάσεις καὶ σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος. Δέδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνεψιάν αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν Συναδηνήν, θυγατέρα οὔσαν Θεοδούλου τοῦ Συναδηνοῦ, τῷ κρᾶλῃ Οὐγγρίας εἰς γυναῖκα, οὗ καὶ τελευτήσαντος αὐθις εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον ὑπέστρεψε. Καὶ χειροτονία δὲ πολλὰ μητροπολιτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλως ἱερωμένων γεγόνασιν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ μὴ ἔχουσαι τὸ ἀνεπίληπτον.

186 Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς λιτότητι καὶ ἀπλότητι συνειθισμένος κατ' οὐδὲν τοῦ οἰκείου ἐξέστη τρόπου. Φιλοδωρότατος δὲ ἦν καὶ προετικός καὶ πᾶσιν ἐτοίμως ἐπικλινόμενος. Ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ δούλοι δύο, Βορίλος τε καὶ Γερμανός, οὗ κατὰ δούλους αὐτῷ ὑπακούοντες, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ αὐτοῖς βουλευτὸν διαπραττόμενοι ἀνενδοιάστως δι' οὓς καὶ φορτικὸς τοῖς ἐξοχωτέροις τῆς συγκλήτου ἐνομίζετο, δακνομένοις ἐφ' οἷς εἰς πάντας ἐπεδείκνυντο.

279 Botaneiates' hold on power was weakened by the existence of not one but two legitimate claimants, the *porphyrogenetoi* Konstantios and Constantine Doukas (noted above, section vi.38). Although Botaneiates treated Konstantios with favour, it was all but inevitable that a royal heir would make a bid for the throne if given command of an army large enough to enforce his claim; see Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 87–88 (no. 110), 162–163. After seizing power in 1081, Alexios Komnenos, now connected to Konstantios by virtue of his marriage alliance with the Doukas family, brought him back into the fold and gave him a military command. Konstantios was killed in battle against the Normans in October 1081; see Polemis, *Doukai*, 48–53. On the awkward presence of two *porphyrogenetoi* in dynastic politics and histories, see Stanković, “Nikephoros Bryennios, Anna Komnene, and Konstantios Doukas.”

280 In the year 1079. This is the last chronological indication in the text.

281 The aforementioned Aimilianos (see vi.38 above).

282 This man appears in Bryennios' account of the battle of Mantzikert. It was a report from the *vestarches* Leo Diabatenos that Alp Arslan was retreating towards Baghdad after receiving word of the emperor's expedition which persuaded Diogenes to divide his forces by sending a contingent to Chliat: *Histoire*, 108.

283 Today the Bulgarian city of Nesebar, on the Black Sea coast.

shed when the very ones who had acclaimed him handed him over. He had him tonsured and exiled to an island. Word has it that he was raised to the rank of presbyter.²⁷⁹

12. In the month of October, in the third indiction,²⁸⁰ a bolt of lightning struck the column of Constantine the Great, on top of which his statue stands—in former times it was a statue of Apollo but its name was changed to his—the bolt severed part of the column and burned through three braces which were of iron on the inside, bronze on the outside.

13. When the archbishop of Bulgaria, John, died while Basilakes was passing through, the emperor put forward another to replace him, a man also known as John, called “the Abstinents” since he never partook of wine. In like fashion, when the Patriarch of Antioch passed away,²⁸¹ the emperor put forward one Nikephoros, who went by the sobriquet Mauros. Alexander Kabasilas was promoted to *doux* of Skopje. Leo Diabatenos,²⁸² who had been despatched to Mesembria,²⁸³ attended to matters there and arranged a reconciliation and treaty with the Patzinaks and Cumans. The emperor gave his niece, a Synadene who was the daughter of Theodoulos Synadenos,²⁸⁴ to the king of Hungary as a wife, and upon his death she then returned to Byzantium.²⁸⁵ There were many appointments of metropolitans and others in the clergy during his reign, which were above reproach.

14. The emperor was by habit given to frugality and simplicity and did not depart from these ways at all. He was munificent and profusely generous, and favourably inclined to all persons. He had two slaves, Borilos and Germanos,²⁸⁶ | 186 who did not obey him in servile fashion but without a second thought conducted matters entirely as they wished. It was because of them that he was considered overbearing by the prominent members of the Senate who were annoyed at the ways in which they flaunted their power towards all.

284 No doubt one of the Synadenoi who urged Botaneiates to make a bid for the throne; above, VI.28.

285 This marriage of Botaneiates' niece (whose Christian name is unknown) cannot have taken place during his reign, as this passage suggests, since the Hungarian king to whom she was married, Geza I, died in April 1077 after ruling for three years. As Cheynet and Shepard have argued, the marriage alliance must have been contracted sometime in 1074 as part of Michael VII's diplomatic effort to secure his western and northern frontiers. Skylitzes is conflating the marriage with the return of the emperor's niece after Geza's death; see “L'empire byzantin et la Hongrie,” 613–616, and “Byzantium and the Steppe-Nomads,” 72–83.

286 The same Borilos mentioned above in section VII.1. Such was the ill will that they engendered towards Botaneiates that Attaleiates leaves them out of his history.

Ἐπεὶ δέ, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν, ὁ λογοθέτης τῷ Ῥουσελίῳ προσέδραμε καὶ παρὰ τούτῳ διήγε κατασχεθεὶς τε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐτηρεῖτο, τὸν μὲν Ῥουσέλιον φαρμάκῳ ἀναιρεῖ, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῦ Ῥουσελίου τῷ Βοτανειάτῃ προσαχθεὶς φρουρεῖται ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Πρώτῃ. Τῶν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν εἰδόντων ἀκριβῶς ὥς, εἰ μόνον ἴδοι αὐτόν, συμπαθείας τε τεύξεται καὶ εἰς τὸ τὰ κοινὰ διοικεῖν προσληφθήσεται ὡς πολυπειρος, ἀμβλύτερον πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχοντος, ὅπερ μὴ συμφέρον αὐτοῖς οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα λογιζόμενοι—ἔσσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν σκόλοπα ἑαυτοῖς ὑπελάμβανον—ἀποστείλαντες τὸν μέγαν ἐταιρειάρχην τὸν Στραβορωμανὸν ἀναιροῦσιν αὐτόν, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως προστεταγμένον ὃν περὶ τῶν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαφερόντων χρημάτων πυθέσθαι μόνον αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω ἐνοχλῆσαι αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἀφικέσθαι δεσμεῖ τε αὐτόν καὶ ἐτάζει σφοδρῶς· ὃς δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐτάζεσθαι ἀφῆκε τὴν ψυχὴν. Καίτοι γε ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ μὴ ἐτασθεῖν, ὁμολογήσαι ταῦτα καὶ ἀναδοῦναι· ἀλλ', ὅπερ ἔφην, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔμελεν αὐτοῖς τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν, ὅσον ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν ἐκποδὼν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς ὅψιν ἔλθειν καὶ ὁμιλίαν τῷ βασιλεῖ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ λογοθέτου τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος.



FIGURE 25 Seal of Borilos, *proedros* and grand *primikerios* of the *ethnikoi* (1078–1081). As chief of the foreign soldiers forming the emperor's bodyguard, Borilos wielded considerable influence in the palace and would prove to be the greatest obstacle to Alexios Komnenos during the latter's bid for power in 1081.

BZS 1951.31.5.1273. © DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION, WASHINGTON DC

15. When, as this account has already explained,²⁸⁷ the *logothetes* Nikephoritzes fled to Rouselios and stayed with him under arrest. While in his keeping, he murdered Rouselios with poison. He was then delivered to the emperor by Rouselios' associates and imprisoned on the island of Prote. The emperor's circle knew very well that if only he saw the *logothetes*, he would extend his forgiveness to him and bring him in to administer the commonweal, given his considerable experience and the fact that the emperor was not honed in these matters, which the people around the emperor did not see working to their advantage. They suspected that Nikephoritzes would be a thorn in their sides, and after sending the *megas hetaireiarches* Straboromanos they had him killed against the emperor's order, which was that they should question him about funds belonging to the imperial treasury only and not trouble him further. But as soon as Straboromanos arrived he put him in chains and inflicted cruel tortures on him. It was during these tortures that he gave up the ghost, even though he had promised that if he were not tortured he would confess and restore the funds.²⁸⁸ But, as I said, they were not so much concerned with the imperial treasuries as they were with getting rid of him before he appeared before the emperor and spoke with him. And so the story concerning the murder of the *logothetes* has reached the end.²⁸⁹

287 Above, VII.1 The final sections of the *Continuation* give the impression of loose ends that Skylitzes did not gather into a coherent narrative. Whether or not he intended to revise these passages is an open question, but it appears that he saw the death of Nikephoritzes as the definitive end of Michael VII's reign and the Doukas dynasty.

288 Attaleiates (*History*, 32.16) says only that Nikephoritzes received his just desserts. Bryennios gives a different version of events, stating instead that Nikephoritzes proposed to Roussel that they go over to Bryennios' side, but was arrested by the latter and delivered to Botaneiates as a captive. Imprisoned on the island of Oxeia, he died after being subjected to terrible tortures: *Histoire*, 254.

289 τὰ ... τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος; the same or similar concluding formulae found in five places in the *Synopsis*, 41.82 (Wortley, 44), 71.41 (Wortley, 73), 140.38–39 (Wortley, 137), 211.23–24 (Wortley, 204), 428.2–3 (Wortley, 403). Note that a very similar phrase concludes Bryennios' account of Nikephoritzes' death which he makes the final episode in his history of Michael Doukas' reign.

Concordance

References are to the chapters and sections of the translation of Skylitzes continuatus, the translation of Attaleiates by Kaldellis and Krallis, and to the Greek text of Zonaras. The concordance is meant to give readers a convenient overview of the places where Skylitzes relied on Attaleiates or drew from other sources, and where Zonaras in turn condensed or reworked material from Skylitzes.

Skylitzes continuatus	Attaleiates	Zonaras
Reign of Isaac I Komnenos		
I.1	12.1–2	XVIII.4.2–6
I.2	12.3–4	XVIII.4.7–13
I.3	12.5–11	XVIII.5.1–8
I.4	12.12	XVIII.5.9–13
I.5	12.13–14	XVIII.6.1–8
I.6	12.15	XVIII.7.1–8
I.7	12.16	XVIII.7.9
I.8	12.16	
I.9		
I.10		XVIII.7.9–10
Reign of Constantine x Doukas		
II.1	13.3; 5–8	XVIII.8.1–11
II.2	13.9–10	XVIII.8.15–17
II.3	14.1	XVIII.8.18–22
II.4	14.2–4	
II.5	14.6	XVIII.9.1–4
II.6	14.7–9	XVIII.9.5–8
II.7	14.10	XVIII.9.9
II.8	14.12	
II.9	15.1; 3; 5	XVIII.9.10–12
II.10	15.6	XVIII.9.13–15
II.11	16.2	XVIII.9.16–18
II.12	15.7; 13.11	XVIII.9.19–27

(cont.)

Skylitzes continuatus	Attaleiates	Zonaras
Regency of the Empress Eudokia		
III.1	16.1; 3	XVIII.10.1–6
III.2	16.3	
III.3	16.4	
III.4	16.5–6	
III.5	16.7	
III.6	16.8–11	XVIII.10.9–19
III.7	16.12–14	XVIII.10.10–28
Reign of Romanos IV Diogenes		
IV.1	17.1	XVIII.11.5–6
IV.2	17.2	XVIII.11.7–8
IV.3	17.2	XVIII.11.9
IV.4	17.2–3	XVIII.11.9–10
IV.5	17.3–4	XVIII.11.11
IV.6	17.4–6	XVIII.11.12–16
IV.7	17.6	XVIII.11.16
IV.8	17.7–8	XVIII.11.17
IV.9	17.9–10	XVIII.11.18
IV.10	17.11–13	XVIII.11.19–21
IV.11	17.13	XVIII.11.22–25
IV.12	17.15–16	XVIII.11.26
IV.13	17.16–18	
IV.14	17.19–20; 22	XVIII.11.27–29
IV.15	18.1	
IV.16	18.2–5	
IV.17	18.6–7	XVIII.12.1–2
IV.18	18.7–8	XVIII.12.2
IV.19	18.9; 12	XVIII.12.2–3
IV.20	18.13	XVIII.12.3
IV.21	18.14–17	XVIII.12.4–5
IV.22	18.17	
IV.23	18.18–20	XVIII.12.6–10
IV.24	18.21	XVIII.12.10–11
IV.25	19.1–2	XVIII.12.12–17
IV.26	19.3–4	XVIII.12.18

(cont.)

Skylitzes continuatus	Attaleiates	Zonaras
IV.27	19.4; 16.7	
IV.28	19.4–5	XVIII.12.19–22
The Mantzikert campaign and its aftermath		
V.1	20.1–3	XVIII.13.1–4
V.2	20.4–5	XVIII.13.4–5
V.3	20.6	
V.4	20.6–7	XVIII.13.6–7
V.5	20.8–9	XVIII.13.8
V.6	20.9–11	XVIII.13.8–9
V.7	20.12	
V.8	20.14–15	XVIII.13.10–12
V.9	20.15	XVIII.13.13–14
V.10	20.16	XVIII.13.15–19
V.11	20.17	XVIII.13.20–22
V.12	20.18–19	XVIII.13.22–14.2
V.13	20.20–22	XVIII.14.3–7
V.14	20.23	XVIII.14.7–16
V.15	20.23–24	XVIII.14.17
V.16	20.25–26	XVIII.14.18–24
V.17	20.26–27; 29	XVIII.14.25–26
V.18	20.27; 21.2–3	XVIII.14.26–15.7
V.19	21.4–6	XVIII.15.7–11
V.20	21.6–7	XVIII.15.11–12
V.21	21.8–10; 12–13	XVIII.15.12–26
The reign of Michael VII Doukas		
VI.1	22.1–4	XVIII.16.1–6
VI.2	22.4	XVIII.16.6–8
VI.3	23.1	XVIII.16.10–12
VI.4	23.1–2	XVIII.16.13–16
VI.5	23.2	
VI.6	23.3–5; 7; 8	XVIII.16.16–22
VI.7	23.7; 9–11	XVIII.16.22–28
VI.8	23.11–13	XVIII.16.28–30
VI.9	24.1	

(cont.)

Skylitzes continuatus	Attaleiates	Zonaras
VI.10	25.1-3	XVIII.16.30-31
VI.11	25.2; 26.3-4	XVIII.16.31-34
VI.12	25.3; 4; 6	XVIII.16.35
VI.13		XVIII.17.1-2
VI.14		
VI.15		
VI.16		
VI.17		
VI.18		
VI.19	26.1-2; 5-6	XVIII.17.3-6
VI.20	26.7	
VI.21		XVIII.17.7-8
VI.22		
VI.23		
VI.24		
VI.25		
VI.26	26.8	XVIII.17.8-9
VI.27	26.8	XVIII.16.8-9; 17.9-13
VI.28	26.9; 27.6; 30.5; 6	XVIII.17.14-18
VI.29	31.1	XVIII.17.19-21
VI.30	31.4; 5-6	XVIII.17.21-22
VI.31		
VI.32	31.3; 8; 9-10	XVIII.17.22-26
VI.33	31.11-12	XVIII.17.27-18.2
VI.34		XVIII.18.3
VI.35	32.7; 10-12	XVIII.18.4
VI.36		XVIII.18.4-8
VI.37	32.11; 15	XVIII.18.8-10
VI.38	32.15	XVIII.18.10-14

The accession and first year of the reign of Nikephoros III Botaneiates

VII.1	32.16; 17; 33.1; 2; 5; 11	XVIII.18.14-19.2
VII.2	34.1-2	XVIII.19.2-5
VII.3	34.3; 4-7	XVIII.19.5-7
VII.4	35.1-2	XVIII.19.7-8
VII.5	36.1	XVIII.19.9-15

(*cont.*)

Skylitzes continuatus	Attaleiates	Zonaras
VII.6	35.4–8	XVIII.19.16–20
VII.7	35.9	
VII.8	35.10	
VII.9	35.11	
VII.10	36.2; 17	
VII.11	36.3–7	XVIII.19.21–25
VII.12	36.8	
VII.13		XVIII.19.25
VII.14		XVIII.19.27
VII.15		XVIII.19.28–20.1

Glossary of Terms

The list focuses on offices, dignities, titles and terms that appear in the Skylitzes text. The explanations are based on information contained in N. Oikonomides, "L'évolution de l'organisation administrative de l'empire byzantine au XI^e siècle (1025–1118)," *TM* (1976), 125–152; and J.-C. Cheynet, *Jean Skylitzès, Empereurs de Constantinople*, Paris 2003, *Glossaire*, 413–416.

Offices, Titles, and Administrative Terms

domestikos/megas domestikos commander of offensive forces. In the 10th century the position was divided into two: a commander in charge of field operations in the East and another in the West. The *megas* (grand) *domestikos* is the *domestikos* of the East.

doukaton a military zone commanded by a *doux*; to all intents and purposes the same as a *katepanaton* under the command of a *katepano*.

doux in the main the term refers to military commanders who had control of the larger military zones created from lands acquired during Byzantium's wars of expansion.

Eparch of the City the official responsible for maintaining the public peace in Constantinople. His duties included supervision of the guilds, monitoring the activities of foreigners and ensuring adequate supplies of foodstuffs. He also had judicial responsibilities.

katepano during the 11th century large and important geographical territories came to be placed under the control of a *katepano*. An example would be Michael Dokeianos, *katepano* of Italy.

kleisoura (plural *kleisourai*) a strategic mountain pass guarded by forces under the command of a *kleisourarches*.

logothetes a general term for an official who was responsible for the direction of the activities of a bureau.

master of petitions (*epi ton deeseon*) head of the office which received petitions to the emperor and drafted replies in his name.

megas hetaireiarches the commander of a palace security unit called the *Hetaireia*, or "Companion Guard."

protasekretis the official in charge of the imperial chancery.

protovestiarios a palatine service staffed by palace eunuchs, but was later open to non-eunuchs. For example Constantine Leichoudes held the position before his elevation to Patriarch. Basically the *protovestiarios* directed the civil activities of the emperor's household.

sebastos a dignity which came into use during the 1070s and was at the base of the emperor Alexios Komnenos' reforms of the system of honorifics.

strategos the commander of thematic forces responsible for protection of a specific locale, such as the *strategos* of Artach (IV.13). The *strategos* was subject to the authority of a *doux*.

strategos autokrator second in command to the emperor.

stratopedarches a term interchangeable with *domestikos*.

tagma (plural *tagmata*) a corps of professional soldiers in the pay of the emperor and always at the ready for combat. During the 11th century they came to be stationed in the provinces, relegating the thematic forces to secondary status. Below are listed the various *tagmata* mentioned in the text:

- *tagma of the Arithmoi* traditionally the *Arithmoi* formed an elite band of soldiers who protected the imperial palace, but during the 11th century (and certainly by the 1060s) this and other Constantinopolitan regiments had suffered a loss of prestige.
- *tagma of the Franks* a contingent of Normans who followed the banner of Robert Crispin and his successor Roussel de Bailleul.
- *tagma of the Hetaireia* a regiment of troops that provided security at the imperial palace. It was under the command of the *megas hetaireiarches*.
- *tagma of the Lykaonai* a regiment composed of forces from a region in eastern Asia Minor called Lykaonia.
- *tagma of the Scholai* a body of troops who served as the palace guard, but were also used on campaign.
- *tagma of the Stratelatai* a regiment of troops at the emperor's disposal for field operations. It was formed at the beginning of the reign of John I Tzimiskes (969–976).

theme (*thema*) the term generally refers to a body of soldiers and the area where they were recruited and stationed, as for example in II.8 the theme of Macedonia in northern Greece. A *strategos* was in charge of a theme's affairs. Recruits received lands and tax exemptions.

Varangians a body of palace guards, usually Scandinavians (or, after the Norman Conquest, Anglo-Saxons) under the command of a *hetaireiarches*.

vestes a dignity which in the later 11th century declined in prestige and tended to be awarded to foreign mercenaries and to Byzantine officials occupying the middle rungs of the bureaucratic ladder.

Dignities: Arranged in Order of Descending Importance

kaisar a dignity reserved for members of the imperial family. In our text this title, when used independent of a name, signifies John Doukas, brother of Constantine X Doukas.

nobelissimos before the later decades of the 11th century only members of the imperial family received this title, but we note in Skylitzes that Nikephoros III Botaneiates elevated Alexios Komnenos, the future emperor, from *proedros* to *nobelissimos*, and promoted him to the position of supreme military commander (*megas domestikos*).

kouropalates before 1057 this dignity was conferred on members of the imperial family but then came to be bestowed on military personnel who were scions of important families. For example Isaac I Komnenos bestowed on his brother John the title of *kouropalates* and the office of *megas domestikos*. Then again we have the example of Romanos Diogenes elevating Manuel Komnenos (nephew of Isaac I Komnenos and brother of Alexios I Komnenos) from *protoproedros* to *kouropalates* and appointing him commander of the army.

proedros (see also *protoproedros* at the end of this entry) this dignity was originally bestowed on eunuchs, but after the first quarter of the 11th century it was granted to non-eunuch personnel as well. The dignity of *proedros* appears in association with an important military command: Nikephoros Bryennios held the title of *proedros* and exercised the office of *doux* of Dyrrachium. The term *protoproedros* is simply an inflated form of the title *proedros*.

magistros many military commanders mentioned in our text held this dignity. It was prestigious, but was awarded for the most part to persons who held positions well below the top tiers.

vestarches a dignity higher in standing than *patrikios*. An example of this superiority is provided by the career of Romanos Diogenes who had the dignity of *patrikios*, when serving as *doux* of Sardica, but petitioned and received for valour the rank of *vestarches*. Military officers honoured with this dignity held important, but not as a rule elevated commands. It was originally bestowed on eunuchs, but after 1040 it was more widely distributed and included non-eunuchs.

anthypatos often joined with the dignity of *patrikios*.

patrikios a dignity of some prominence in the first half of the eleventh century, which gradually lost its lustre as the century went on.

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